Trust in and Attitudes towards the Police: Empirical Analyses for Europe with a Special Focus on Switzerland

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Abstract

The question underlying this thesis is what shapes people's perception of the police. It aims to contribute to the field of trust and attitudinal research in several ways. Firstly, institutional approaches will be considered, perceiving the police as part of wider governmental institutions. Secondly, theories of procedural justice will be looked at. They argue that fair decisions and respectful treatment largely contribute to institutional legitimacy and trustworthiness. To the contrary of procedural justice approaches are instrumental arguments. In them, police's effectiveness is seen as central to people's trust in them. Whether the police are doing a good job, fighting crime effectively, is more important than the use of adequate procedures and correct behavior. These approaches enter into the analyses in the way that the global notion of trust in the police will be linked to global statements about police's procedural fairness and effectiveness. Moreover, the level of satisfaction in concrete interactions with the police will be taken into account.

In the trust-building process, institutional representatives play an important role, as mentioned in procedural justice theories. To go one step further, interactions with police officers are expected to be influenced by social trust. A culture marked by a general openness towards strangers may contribute not only to a higher trust in interactions with ordinary people, but may also be transferable to institutional representatives. The link between social trust and institutional trust is widely confirmed, especially for trust in political institutions such as the government or political parties. Since studies dealing primarily with trust in the police are rare, social trust will be taken into account as an explanatory force in the analyses to come.

Studies within the field of attitudes towards the police are often based on local surveys. Cross-country analyses with data from large opinion polls are rather seldom. More than just global and concrete attitudes towards the police will be linked here. Another aim is to link cross-national analyses with a concrete in-depth country study. A country study of Switzerland will follow the search for correlations at a cross-country level. It will be tested whether the links can be proven in a single country marked by high levels of trust in the police. In addition to the European level, not only police stops but also victim-initiated contact will be analyzed.

Executive Summary

The following results are found across Europe, in both Western and Eastern European countries:

- Global trust in the police correlates positively with trust in political and legal institutions.
- Global trust in the police is closely related to confidence in their work and trust in their procedural fairness.
- Ratings of local police work affect views of the police as a whole.
- The higher the social trust in a country—trust in unknown fellow humans, in their fairness and helpfulness—the higher people's trust in the police, in their procedural fairness, as well as their confidence in the work of the police.

Differences between Western and Eastern Europe can be reported for police encounters:

- Only in the East do unfavorable ratings lead to a lower trust in the police, while the West shows mainly a positive influence of favorable ratings, with little or no effect of unfavorable ratings.
- Dissatisfaction with how the police have treated someone clearly leads to a lower trust in their procedural fairness and a lower confidence in their work. Such impacts are stronger in Eastern than in Western Europe.
- Social trust has a mediating role in police-initiated encounters across countries:
  - In Western Europe, suspicious people stopped by the police have a lower confidence in the work of the police than those that were not stopped.
  - Contrary to the West, in Eastern Europe, suspicious people trust the police less in cases where they were not in contact with the police.
  - The same pattern is found for trust in procedural fairness.

Results for Switzerland:

- The Swiss police stop young, well-educated, wealthy males more often.
- Every fifth person stopped by the police was dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the police, which is midrange within Western European countries.
- Victims of a crime have a lower trust in the police compared to non-victims.
- There is a clear connection between satisfaction with the treatment of a reported case of criminal victimization by the police and trust in them: Dissatisfaction clearly reduces crime victims' trust in the police. In cases of crimes against the person, satisfied victims report an above-average trust in the police.
- Information policy is important. Uninformed victims who would have wished to receive more information about their case show a lower trust in the police.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations

ESS	European Social Survey
ICVS	International Crime Victims Survey
CS2011	Swiss Crime Survey 2011
WVS	World Value Survey
EVS	European Values Study

Statistical Parameters

α	Cronbach's Alpha (measure of the internal consistency of a scale)
B	Unstandardized regression coefficient
β	Standardized regression coefficient
n	Sample size
p	Probability value, significance level
r	Pearson's correlation coefficient
r_s	Spearman's rank coefficient
R^2	The coefficient of determination (the proportion of data explained by the model)

INTRODUCTION

The Role of Trust in the Police

Police are a prominent topic in the media. Either they are described positively, such as when successfully apprehending a criminal or they were portrayed critically, due to inappropriate behavior, for example. Pictures depicting discreditable behavior by officers, such as fighting back peaceful demonstrators and protesters, e.g. in Turkey or Spain, shed a negative light on the police and throw their role into question. Such situations, but also generally inadequate behavior and behavior perceived as unfair affect police trustworthiness. Also, in Switzerland, the media and the public carefully observe police behavior. Moreover, a declining respect for officials in general is reported. Such critical opinions are contrasted by high rates of trust in the police in Western Europe and in Switzerland especially. This leads to the question: What contributes to trust in the police and how are attitudes towards them shaped?

This thesis elaborates on opinions of the police, people's trust in and attitudes towards them. It considers encounters with the police and analyzes the role of social trust, that is, people's individual trust in unknown fellow citizens. Before discussing theoretical considerations, I should like to highlight the relevance of the topic. Firstly, research has shown that trust in an institution is closely linked to the perception of its legitimacy. Secondly, trust and legitimacy itself lead to better compliance with the law. Legal rules and decisions aimed at influencing the actions of those towards whom they are directed are only effective when they are obeyed (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill, & Quinton, 2010[1]). Hence, elaboration on the mechanism used to promote trust in the police and their perception as a legitimate institution is important. Furthermore, as everyday life has become more complex and uncertain in modern societies, resources and strategies on the institutional side have become increasingly necessary. In order to use them effectively, authorities need to be able to gain voluntary acceptance for most of their decisions and therefore depend strongly on legitimacy (Misztal, 1996, p. 245). Several studies confirm that attitudes towards institutional trustworthiness are central to a willingness to accept decisions within political settings (e.g. Tyler, 1998). After all, institutional trust is linked to individual trust. Some authors see institutions as a source of trust between actors, which makes them objects of trust too (Freitag, 2003; Robbins, 2011). In their view, institutions play an important role in the absence of specific information about the trustee and form reliable commitments and mutual expectations of good will. Stable institutions encourage citizens to take small risks and learn who is trustworthy and how to distinguish them from those who are not. Once institutions are put in place, they are counted upon, because they are durable and can be taken for granted (Offe, 1999,

[1] Page numbers are mentioned only when the source of information is a certain range in a book. No numbers are displayed in cases of book chapters, journal articles, or when the statement concerns the underlying message of a book.

p. 66). This suggests that the police can be seen as guardians of security in a society, enabling people to trust strangers more easily. Despite this fact, and in relatively secure societies in the West, not everyone has a positive perception of the police. According to Hardin (2006, p. 19), trust has three dimensions: how individuals choose to trust, to whom they direct their trust, and in which circumstances they exercise their trust. In other words, trust is a three-part relationship: A trusts B to do, or with respect to, X. Applied to institutional trust (B) it can be said that, whether we (A) trust an institution or not depends on our perception of it. Moreover, it depends on our opinion of its trustworthiness. Several factors may contribute to such a perception. In cases of legal institutions, such as courts or the police, certain expectations about their roles and duties are attributed to them (X), based on what we have learned in school, from friends, or media coverage. Trust in the police can therefore be seen as the population's belief that the police have good intentions towards citizens and are competent to act in specific ways in specific situations (Jackson et al., 2011c). Another source of information is a direct experience with institutional representatives (Giddens, 1990). Police officers as representatives of the institution "police" can therefore influence the trust-building process. Procedural justice approaches derived from social psychology elaborate on such encounters by showing how perception of police encounters influences people's attitudes towards them. Institutional trustworthiness is the most important issue people consider when they evaluate procedures used by authorities. Hence, opinions on the fairness of authorities form the basis for judgments about police legitimacy (Tyler, 1998; Tyler & Huo, 2002, pp. 72–74).

Literature on trust in government and in political institutions is broad, looking back at a long tradition, while research dealing with trust in justice in particular has only evolved in recent years. Projects such as "fiducia – justice needs trust" within the FP7, the EU's seventh framework program for research, helped to add the topic of trust in justice to the research agenda[2]. It resulted in the module of trust in justice in round 5 of the European Social Survey ESS and thus enabled a broad research community, myself included, to address the subject. The acceptance of this topic as a module in this large survey covering a variety of European countries highlights the relevance of research on trust in the police.

[2] For more information, see chapter 5.1: Background.

Aim and Research Question

The aim of this thesis is to combine institutional approaches of trust in the police with those of attitudinal research, looking at the influence of perceptions and satisfaction with encounters. The underlying research question is how experiences with the police—measured through contact people had with them, either self-willed or initiated by the police—influence people's attitudes and trust in them. As research about institutional trust stems primarily from political sciences or economics, research treating the police as part of governmental institutions, rather than focusing on them as an organization, is marginal within sociology and criminology. Before starting with analyses at the institutional and the organizational level, the question of whether trust in the police may be seen in a broader light of institutional trust in governmental institutions needs to be clarified. Furthermore, within research on attitudes towards the police, a distinction between global and specific attitudes is often missed. Moreover, the connection between them is only rarely analyzed. Hence, Brandl, Frank, Worden, & Bynum demanded back in 1994:

"Future research should be directed toward understanding more clearly how global attitudes toward the police are formed, and how global or specific attitudes can be influenced by the quality of police contacts. One potentially informative direction for such research would be analyses of socialization…" (p. 132)

This thesis contributes to closing the research gap that still exists in three ways. First, on an abstract level, the relationship between global trust in the institution "police" and attitudes towards their work and behavior will be elaborated on. Second, such abstract views will be related to concrete experiences with the police, looking mainly at the impact of satisfaction with treatment received from the police on trust in them. While these analyses are settled at the European level, taking several Western and Eastern European countries into account, in a third step, the situation in a Western European country marked by high levels of trust in the police is analyzed more closely in a case study of Switzerland.

Most of the studies within this field of research are based either on local samples of cities or on large opinion polls aimed at comparing countries. Local samples allow testing of concrete questions allocated to the setting. In contrast, large polls and countrywide or cross-country analyses help to shed light on the "big picture". The structure of the underlying data of this thesis does not allow for consideration of a variety of questions of global and specific attitudes towards the police. Nevertheless, it is possible to link a general notion of trust in the police to questions about concrete experiences. Hence, the aim is to join local factors such as concrete attitudes with global aspects of trust in the police. Furthermore, such patterns will be tested and enriched with data that are more concrete in the country survey of Switzerland.

As an explanatory force, rather than asking for the socialization of people as Brandl et al. (1994) demand it, social realities will be taken into account. I argue that cultures shaped by high levels of social trust generate a positive basic attitude and openness that affects trust in institutions.

Structure of the Thesis

Trust in the police has to be researched on either a very abstract level or on a single case point, because every country's police system has its own particularities and hierarchies (Albrecht & Nogala, 2001). This thesis addresses both of these aspects. *Part I* deals with theoretical concepts and existing research. Its first chapter builds on Albrecht and Nogala's (2001) argumentation of how police should be analyzed. On the one hand, the institutional approach understands the police as part of a wider government, closely connected to other institutions. On the other hand, attitudinal research largely focuses on local settings, with regard to officers' (mis)behavior, for example. This thesis combines both approaches and adds an additional level by conducting cross-country research. Its aim is to test whether concrete experiences with the police affect global trust in and attitudes towards the police. Three theoretical roots are outlined in the second chapter: trust in the police as trust in a governmental institution, trust in the police as confidence in their effectiveness, and finally trust in the police as trust in their procedural fairness. The core component of the argument is placed on encounters with the police, seen as crucial for building or destroying people's opinion of the police. Moreover, I will test whether social trust, that is trust in unknown others, in their fairness and helpfulness, can be transformed into trust in police officers and trust in the police as a whole. In existing research, social trust is often treated as part of social capital. Since the interest is predominantly on its relationship with political institutions, it is rather seldom researched in the context of the police. In order to close this research gap, I will treat social trust as an explanatory force for trust in the police. In order to achieve a better understanding of this, the whole argument is outlined in a model in the third chapter, where the hypotheses also are presented.

In *Part II*, information on the data sources used and the applied methodologies is given. In addition to presenting the operationalization of indicators, I critically debate the use of certain items, such as social trust. Since "most people" is understood differently across countries and cultures, its universal applicability is questionable (Delhey, Newton, & Welzel, 2011). Other points to criticize are the combination of the three items as well as possible actual feelings that should be considered as they might affect responsiveness (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002).

Results are presented in the two subsequent parts. In *Part III*, analyses deal with trust in and attitudes towards the police at the European level. In the first step, at the aggregated level, I search for patterns of trust in the police across countries.

Scatterplots reveal similarities within Eastern and Western European countries. Based on these results, two clusters of Western and Eastern Europe are formed. They form the basis for further analyses at the individual level. Before elaborating on the impact of police-initiated encounters on trust in and attitudes towards the police, a wider institutional trust is considered. I test whether people perceive political and legal institutions similarly. Finally, the impact of social trust on overall trust in the police, as well as its role in police encounters, is elaborated on.

After this overview of the situation in Europe, *Part IV* turns its focus on Switzerland. It belongs to the group of countries with very high levels of trust in the police. It will be tested whether results found for Western Europe can be confirmed in this single-country case study. However, people's opinions of the police are not only affected by involuntary contact with the police. Several studies show that, in cases where the public contacts the police, in order to report a criminal offence for example, unfavorable behavior of officers plays a crucial role in destroying people's trust in them. This is especially true when victims of a crime report the offence. A second data base allows for an expansion of the scope, taking not only police-initiated contact into account, but also elaborating on the impact of reporting an offence, satisfaction with the handling of the case by the police, as well as their further information policy on trust in the police.

Before discussing certain points in *Part V*, I will summarize the primary results in combination with a discussion of the hypotheses.

PART I – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND STATE OF RESEARCH

1 Reflections on Research on Trust in the Police

1.1 Introduction

The field of police research is wide, thematically as well as with regard to methodological designs. Institutional approaches are mainly based on large opinion polls. The same is true for attitudinal studies dealing with procedural fairness, for example. However, several studies are conducted locally, examining people's attitudes towards their city police. Research questions go hand in hand with design. While large surveys that compare countries are mainly settled on an abstract level, dealing with overall levels of trust and attitudes towards the police, in local studies, a broad set of questions allows for a deeper elaboration of people's opinion of the police. A distinction between such levels and concepts is often missed. Therefore, the following will present an overview of institutional and attitudinal approaches, after a short introduction about the development of police and trust research. After illustrating the research gap, an attempt is made to synthesize the approaches.

1.2 Developments

1.2.1 Police Research

For early classical sociologists, the police were mainly an instrument of the sovereign power to govern. The first sociological studies of police work arose in the 1960s, when social and political changes affected most of Western European countries. People brought social and political conflicts onto the streets. Concerns about rising crime and disorder became a public issue. In light of an increase in the public's questioning of authorities in general, "the police" became increasingly visible, controversial, and politicized in response to these tensions and pressures. During this time, primarily universities started to conduct studies, motivated by critical and theoretical concerns of police behavior and the police as an institution. Research overwhelmingly originated in the U.S. and the UK. Nowadays, the majority of police studies relevant to the sociology of police, as well as to the field of criminology, still originate from English-speaking countries, with the U.S. in the clear lead. The dominance of academics in police research lasted until the mid-1980s. Afterwards, official police research done by governmental bodies like the Home Office in the United Kingdom, as well as think tanks and independent research organizations grew extensively. Theory-oriented academic research underwent a transformation, from an institutional understanding of the police to policing as a socially structured, dynamic,

and multi-faceted process[3] (Albrecht & Nogala, 2001). This was accompanied by a shift in focus from social control approaches towards problem-oriented ones, leading to new research topics, such as attitudes towards the police, seen as an essential element for building and obtaining public safety. Collaboration between researchers within the police as well as with police-oriented researchers from other research institutions became common (Reiner, 2000).

Attitudinal research within the policing field includes research on service quality, legitimacy, justice, and citizens' satisfaction with government, public agencies, and public services. Political sciences and economics dominate the research on institutional trust. They primarily look at governmental ratings without focusing on the police separately. An overview of the different approaches is given in Figure 1. Only trust and attitudinal approaches are included. Of course, police research as a whole covers many more fields of research, especially within the police organization, touching upon topics such as the profession itself (Pichonnaz, 2014).

Figure 1: Overview of police research in the fields of trust and attitudes

1.2.2 Trust Research

For several years, categories of trust remained marginal in social science research. In 1988, Diego Gambetta stated:

"(…) in the social sciences the importance of trust is often acknowledged but seldom examined, and scholars tend to mention it in passing, to allude to it as a fundamental ingredient or lubricant, an unavoidable dimension of social interaction, only to move on to deal with less intractable matters." (p. X).

[3] While "police" refers to an institution, policing is targeted towards police function, i.e. the organized form of maintaining security through surveillance and the threat of sanction (Pakes, 2010, p. 42). In many societies, policing was not associated with the activities of the institution "police" until recently, but instead used to signify social regulation in the widest sense, seen in its etymological relationship to the governance of the city or the state (Rowe, 2008, pp. 3–4).

While in the 1960s and 1970s exploratory studies from empirical settings generated many conceptual problems of trust, from about 1980 to the second half of the 1990s there was a strong conceptual output, followed by many books and special issues applying and testing theoretically derived concepts (Möllering, 2006, p. 128). Its reappearance as a central topic in the 1990s might also be seen as a reflection of political, social, and economic realities. The process of globalization and the collapse of communism were periods of uncertainty and therefore seen as sources of a declining trust (Cook, 2001). Industrial nations were forced to redefine and articulate new collective values and aspirations. Moreover, there was a need to search for new alternatives, as existing bases for social cooperation, solidarity, and consensus had eroded. Consequently, in social sciences, questions of how social trust is established and what kinds of social trust enhance economic and governmental performance increasingly became the central set of theoretical issues (Misztal, 1996, pp. 3–4). Especially in sociology, a growing interest in the domain of "soft" cultural variables has led to a new wave of interest in trust at the turn of the millennium, encouraged by features of modern societies, pointing out the problem of trust (Sztompka, 1999, pp. 1–2)[4]. In such modern societies, money, authority, and knowledge are important for reproducing the social order. While money determines market participants, political authority provides a legal system and the enforcement of the law, a framework that regulates the action of citizens. Finally, knowledge, based on observations and research about social and non-social realities, as well as its distribution through organizations, education, and the mass media, creates an awareness of current and future problems of actors, and about strategies to solve them. However, the synthesis of these three media is not sufficient to explain social order reproductions, as they are not able to explain informal modes of social coordination based on moral and cultural resources. Trust bridges this gap and provides such modes (Offe, 1999).

While early work on trust focused on the individual level of trust, the focus later shifted towards trust in institutions or institutional actors, such as professionals and other agents. Moreover, the focus was expanded to individual trust in government, leading to the claim that the stability of governments depends on citizens' trust in them. Some work also sees trust as the basis of grand social theory, as the discussion of effects of trust on the atmosphere of cooperativeness in the larger society has shown (Hardin, 2006, pp. 39–40). Such research was centered on the search for explanations for a declining trust, as found in studies for the United States (for

[4] According to Sztompka (1999, p. 1–2), a paradigmatic shift has taken place in sociology. In earlier years, the focus was on psychological meanings of "hard", e.g. instrumental or positivistic images of action, found in behaviorism, the game, or rational choice theory. Later on, cultural sociology centered on a "soft" or humanistic, meaningful image of action, such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, hermeneutics, or cultural studies.

example Putnam, 1995)[5].

1.3 Institutional versus Attitudinal Approaches

1.3.1 Trust in the Institution "Police"

Research about trust in institutions is rooted in multiple disciplines, such as political science, public administrations, and economics. It is primarily concerned with global or diffuse citizen attitudes such as "satisfaction with" or "confidence in" governmental agencies or institutions. As a global attitude does not imply having been in contact with the police, many of these studies are based on public opinion polls and are therefore distinct from research on service quality and justice (Maguire & Johnson, 2010). Within political science, studies on trust in institutions have a long tradition, mainly in analyzing trust in the government and its representatives. Often, any forms of institutional trust measured by opinion polls are combined, and no distinction is made between trust in institutions at the representational side of the political system (the parliament or political parties) and trust in institutions at the implementation side, such as the courts and the police (Rothstein & Stolle, 2008)[6]. However, as citizens in modern democracies are more dependent on institutions of implementation, such a distinction is important.

Within criminology, trust in institutions, but also the role of procedural justice, treated here as part of the attitudinal approach, are relatively new topics. They found their way onto the agenda due to the spread of a neo-institutional account in economics, political science, and sociology at the end of the 1980s. Compared to "old-institutionalism", focused mainly on rational-choice models, "new-institutionalism" tends to emphasize the role of norms, trust, and reciprocity in economic transactions, as well as the role of non-market institutions (Hall & Tayler, 1996; Karstedt, 2010). Such a resurgence of institutional thinking outside the economy was also a consequence of transformation within the modern society and the impact of institutional changes on issues of social life, as already mentioned.

While institutional approaches deal with a rather general form of trust, studies within the policing field focus more on attitudes, such as satisfaction with treatment received by the police, as shown in the next chapter.

1.3.2 Attitudes towards the Organization "Police"

The field of research on attitudes towards the police covers several traditions of theory and research, such as research on service quality, legitimacy, justice, and

[5] Hardin (2006) argues that we live in an age of distrust in the sense that we have more interaction with people whom we do not trust than with those we trust (compared to earlier ages). However, we primarily have such interactions because we generally have far more interactions of all kinds.

[6] According to the authors, this is especially true for studies looking at the influence of social capital on institutional trust.

citizens' satisfaction (Maguire & Johnson, 2010). They deal with a wide variety of questions of specific (satisfaction with the police in particular incidents) and global assessments (satisfaction with the police in general, with the police in the community or in the neighborhood) (Brandl et al., 1994). Research in the field of service quality—only marginal within policing studies—mainly stems from the private sector, testing standardized instruments for measuring the quality of services (Maguire & Johnson, 2010). Legitimacy is the "*judgment that legal authorities are competent and honest (support or personal legitimacy) and that their professional role entitles them to make decisions which ought to be deferred to and obeyed (institutional legitimacy)*" (Tyler, 1998, pp. 272–273). One of the defining characteristics of legitimacy is the notion of voluntary compliance. If the majority of people chose not to comply voluntarily with the law or legal authorities, formal social control institutions would become overwhelmed (Maguire & Johnson, 2010).

Research on procedural justice, based on the assumption that people focus more on procedures and are less interested in the outcomes of their experience, is closely linked to research about legitimacy. People will react more positively to an experience if they perceive a treatment by a judge or a police officer as fair, regardless of the outcome. Receiving a fine perceived as too high, for example, does not affect dissatisfaction with the police as strongly as a perceived discrimination in the treatment by an officer. The behavior of an officer is perceived as proper when he listens to people's arguments and considers them, when he is neutral and gives good reasons for his decision. From this approach of procedural justice, theories of distributive justice have to be distinguished. They argue that people would like fair outcomes and that the level of punishment should reflect their feelings about what they deserve (Tyler, 1990, p. 6).

1.4 Filling the Research Gap: the Attempt at a Combination

The aim of this thesis is to link a global measurement of trust in the police with questions about people's attitudes and experiences. Studies analyzing the interaction between global and specific attitudes towards the police are rare. Moreover, their analyses are often restricted to local police forces. Hence, the use of the notion "global attitude" is often unclear and misleading, pointing to a general attitude towards local police forces rather than to one at the national level, for example. Still, three studies are worth mentioning, as they give a first insight into the topic. Brandl et al. (1994) found both global and specific attitudes towards the police produce similar levels of support for them. Reisig & Chandek (2001) show that police behavior correlate with global satisfaction with the police, while they found no significant correlation for specific satisfaction and police behavior. Finally, Schuck & Rosenbaum (2005) chose to differentiate between global and neighborhood attitudes. As all of these studies have their own results with different interpretations, a closer look is warranted in order to acquire enough information to draw conclusions for the present study.

Based on data from two panel waves from four areas in a large Midwestern city in the USA, Brandl et al. (1994) measured citizens' global attitudes towards the police with one question about people's general satisfaction with the police in their neighborhood. They also considered specific attitudes when asking about the satisfaction level after contact with the police, differing between four forms: requesting information, requesting assistance, stopped and questioned, and after victimization. The comparison of global and specific attitudes shows that most of the differences are neither large nor statistically significant. Global and specific attitudes towards the police seem to relate in an asymmetrically reciprocal way: citizens' global attitudes toward the police affect their assessment of specific contact with the police, and assessments of specific contact affect their global attitudes, but the former effect was found to be stronger than the latter. Brandl and his colleagues argue that even if effects of specific attitudes on global ones are found, they might have been overestimated in previous research, as the confounding effects of prior global attitudes were not controlled for. This conclusion may be true; however, the expressiveness of the results is limited because—as the authors themselves admit—the majority of the respondents stem from neighborhoods dominated by African Americans and people with moderate incomes; people known to have low favorable global attitudes towards the police.

Reisig & Chandek (2001) used two samples of citizens with recently voluntary (breaking and entering complainant) or involuntary (traffic citation) contact with the police, in a medium-sized Midwestern city[7]. Analyzing citizens' satisfaction, they asked how satisfied people were with the way the police department handled their most recent citation or complaint. For global satisfaction, they asked for a general satisfaction level with the city police department. Results reveal that components of disconfirmation—measured according to information from expectation and service received scales—are directly associated with how satisfied respondents are with the way the police handled their most recent contact, either citation or complaint. However, when comparing the global and specific attitudes, results show that disconfirmation performs poorly with regard to predicting global satisfaction, in cases of both voluntary and involuntary contact. What does count is police behavior, which significantly correlated to both overall satisfaction with the police and specific rating.

Finally, the third U.S. study that deals with global and specific attitudes towards the police used data from the Minority Trust and Confidence in the Police Project (MTC), a multi-method study consisting of 479 interviews done by phone in Chicago in 2002, designed to explore minority confidence in the police (Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005). In contrast to the study by Brandl et al. (1994) and Reisig & Chandek (2001), the general attitude towards the police was measured with four general statements about the police, covering its behavior (being rude and verbally and physically abusive

[7] Like in the American study of Brandl et al. above, no further distinctions about the city are made, contrary to most of the studies from Europe. I assume that this is due to data protection rights, which might be stricter in America.

towards people) and whether the police stop people for no good reasons. For neighborhood-specific attitudes, they asked respondents several specified questions about their neighborhood police. Schuck & Rosenbaum (2005) found that the model separating general attitudes from neighborhood-specific attitudes—relational to the items measuring perceptions of police behavior and treatment—was more relevant. Furthermore, none of the general attitude indicators had a significant load on the neighborhood dimension and none of the neighborhood-specific indicators had a significant load on the general attitude dimension. Results came out differently after the authors added variables pertaining to contact with the police. The final model shows that there was a strong positive association between global and neighborhood-specific attitudes about police demeanor and treatment. Both attitudinal measures presented concrete options linking attitude to the police behavior. This is in contrast to the other two studies, which used only one question about a general level of satisfaction or trust, without giving notions that allow connections with certain meanings of satisfaction.

Comparisons between the three studies are limited. Brandl et al. (1994) and Reisig & Chandek (2001) relate the global and specific attitudes towards the police to the same local police force, either neighborhood or city police. In the study by Schuck & Rosenbaum (2005), the distinction was between neighborhood police and the police in general. As they give no further information about what exactly is meant by "the police in general", these questions might relate to local police as well, as global satisfaction relates to questions about behavior mostly observable in the citizens' environment. However, when thinking about media coverage of negative police behavior, wider connotations with state or national police forces might also be possible.

1.5 Cross-National Research

Linking attitudinal approaches to institutional ones is important and not yet well established in police research. Another missing link is multi-country research. One good exception is the study by Grönlund & Setälä (2012), considering the aspect of corruption. Since every country has specific police organizations and specific laws framing their actions, it is understandable that comparative research is limited; even though, at an abstract level, comparative research is important and contributes largely to understand fundamental concepts and approaches. Moreover, it has been a core element of sociological research since the beginning of sociology as a discipline (Arts & Halman, 2004). The importance can be highlighted by the words of Melvin Kohn (1987):

"I argue that cross-national research is valuable, even indispensable, for establishing the generality of findings and the validity of interpretations derived from single-nation studies. In no other way can we be certain that what we believe to be

social-structural regularities are not merely particularities, the product of some limited set of historical or cultural or political circumstances. I also argue that cross-national research is equally valuable, perhaps even more valuable, for forcing us to revise our interpretations to take account of cross-national differences and inconsistencies that could never be uncovered in single-nation research" (p. 713).

He grouped cross-national research—studies that are "*explicitly comparative, utilizing "systematically comparable data from two or more nations*" (Kohn, 1987, p. 714)—into four types: studies in which the nation or the country is first the object, second the context, third the unit of analyses, and fourth transnational in character. In the first type, the main interest lies in the particular countries included. Moreover, comparisons of institutions might be possible. Such research is contrasted in the second type, where the country builds the context of analyses. Here, the generality of findings and interpretations is tested. When the country is the unit of analyses, relationships among characteristics of nations are established. Countries are classified along certain dimensions. The focus is on the relationship between social institutions and processes with variations in national characteristics. As institutions and processes are studied intra-nationally, there is no need to treat each nation as a homogenous entity. Finally, transnational research treats nations as components of larger international systems (Kohn, 1987).

This thesis is located within two of the aforementioned fields. In the first, the aim is to test the generality of trust in the police, as well as of attitudes about their procedural fairness and effectiveness. Western and Eastern European countries therefore build the context of analyses. In the second, in a country survey, Switzerland is the object of analyses. Besides proving general results found at the European level, certain additional aspects will be taken into account.

1.6 Summary

Trust in and attitudes towards the police cover a rather wide field of research, from institutional approaches down to very specific local surveys. Research has shown that there is a positive association between global and neighborhood-specific attitudes about police demeanor and treatment. People make connections between trust in the police and concrete actions or behavior of their representatives. Therefore, trust in the police as a general attitude is linked to specific assessments. Studies linking concrete experiences with officers with a wider trust in the police institution are rare, using different concepts of global trust. With respect to specific patterns of police organizations, they are often based on local samples. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to filling this research gap twofold by linking police encounters with global trust in and attitudes towards them cross-nationally.

2 Determinants of Trust in and Attitudes towards the Police

2.1 Introduction

When analyzing trust, the "*crucial variable is trustworthiness of those who are to be trusted or relied upon"* (Hardin, 2006, p. 59). Based on this argument, when analyzing trust in the police, their trustworthiness needs to be explored. Literature suggests a trustworthy actor as someone who is able, willing, and consistent in not exploiting the trustee's vulnerability (Möllering, 2006, p. 46), while distrust is the belief that other's interests conflict strongly with one's own. People distrust if there is a lack of knowledge, due to the absence of experiences, for example (Hardin, 2002).

From a sociological or political science perspective, the police are linked to many other systems and institutions, seen as a part of the wider social system and an instrument of executive governance (Albrecht & Nogala, 2001). Trust in and attitudes towards the police can be understood as the distinction between organizational and institutional trust, as already discussed in chapter 1: Reflections on Research on Trust in the Police. While attitudes towards the organization police are bound to concrete ideas about the work of the police, such as a correct behavior of their representatives or their effectiveness, the institution "police" can be se in the light of other governmental institutions.

Another perspective suggests that trust in institutions is always linked to its representatives, whether someone has good or bad experiences with them. As experts, the public ascribes specific knowledge to them. They trust them if there is a reason to believe that it will be in their interest to be trustworthy (Hardin, 2002). Concerning the police, this means that people have or do not have a general belief that the police, and their officers as their representatives, understand the interests of the public and consider their interests when acting. Dissatisfaction with how a police officer has behaved in an encounter, treated someone unfairly in a traffic control scenario, for example, may therefore lead to disappointment and/or lower trust in the police as a whole.

This chapter describes different theoretical concepts of trust and attitudes towards the police that highlight the analyses undertaken later on. Moreover, an overview of existing research is given.

2.2 Trust in the Police as a Government Institution

In the eyes of institutional approaches, the police are one institution within a larger governmental body, which might be one reason why in research there is seldom

differentiation between it and legal and political institutions[8]. Results of studies that consider such a differentiation point to three characteristics. First, in Western democracies, trust in legal institutions is clearly distinct from other institutional trust. Rothstein & Stolle (2002), using data from the third wave of the World Value Survey (1995–1997), found that institutions could be assigned to three factors of institutional trust: Political Institutions, Power-Checking Institutions, and Order Institutions. While the first one includes confidence in the Parliament, Government, and Political Parties, the second one combines confidence in Press, the TV, and the Civil Service. The third and final factor describes confidence in the Police, Army, and Legal Institutions. Results of a German study confirm such a distinction between trust in legal and political institutions in modern societies. Based on ALLBUS data—a biennially survey about attitudes, behavior, and social structure in Germany—Reuband (2012) shows that trust in the police loaded together with the courts and justice on a single factor in 2011 (factor II). The other two factors summarize the federal government, the Bundestag, and the political parties (factor I), and the trade unions and the employers' associations (factor III). Thereafter, he additionally undertook factor analyses on the same data for the year 2008, as earlier studies had not found such a clear distinction between the three institutional forms. Results show that the distinction between the police and the courts on one hand, as well as other state institutions, on the other hand, had not yet been fully carried out in 2008. Furthermore, in analyses of the years between 1984 and 1995, institutions were perceived as one-dimensional. The author guesses that the population only learned over the years to perceive the institutions in the field of law and order with its specific function as independent institutions, not subjected to the dictate of the political system. In light of Germany's history with the police state in the GDR and its collapse in 1989, I would say the reason is obvious.

While in Germany such a clear distinction only arose within the last couples of years, studies cannot confirm such a clear pattern for Central and Eastern European countries (Mishler & Rose, 1997; Mishler & Rose, 2001). One example is the study by Mishler & Rose (2001) based on pooled survey data from the fifth wave of the New Democracies Barometer (NDB) of 1998[9]. The one-factor model already explained more than 40% of variance. After extracting a second factor, the first one measures trust in state institutions such as the parliament, prime minister and/or president, courts, police, parties, and the military. The second and much weaker factor reflects trust in civil institutions: the press and electronic media, and private enterprise. According to the authors, this uniformity in institutional trust resulted from people's lack of

[8] Institutions do not only play an important role in research within political science and sociology. Criminology has also always adopted institutional perspectives in its different sectors. Moreover, criminology has its roots in the study of institutions and their impact on "law making", "law breaking", and "reactions to law breaking" (Karstedt, 2010, p. 337).

[9] The size of the total sample (11,499) covers seven Central and East European countries (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia). Aside from that, two successor states of the former Soviet Union, Belarus and Ukraine were included as well.

familiarity and experience with them, as not only states themselves, but also most national institutions have only evolved since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1989.

Studies comparing national trust levels in Western Europe support these results, revealing that trust levels are different between legal and political institutions, either within or between countries (e.g. Hudson, 2006, p. 53). Hence, in institutional research that deals with democratic countries of the West, a distinction between trust in the police and trust in legal institutions, and especially a separation from trust in political institutions is necessary and important. In order to account for institutional perspectives and their research results, I will analyze the relationship of institutional trust in Western and Eastern Europe, before the focus is turned to the role of encounters with the police.

While trust in the police can be seen as part of other governmental institutions, confidence in the work of the police is linked to the organization police and their members. In the next chapter, theoretical approaches of attitudes towards the police will be described more closely.

2.3 Confidence in the Work of the Police: Effectiveness and Fairness

In sociological literature, trust is seen either as a psychological attribute or as a feature of social relationships and social systems, explained by behavior based on actions and orientations at the individual level (Misztal, 1996, p. 14). However, there is no consensus among social scientists about the object of trust. For some authors, trust can relate to human beings only. Things, social and natural processes cannot relate to trust as they cannot deceive or betray us (Liebsch, 2010). There is also a discussion about whether only people can be trusted or if trust can also be directed towards institutions such as schools and states (Khodyakov, 2007). Opponents, such as Offe (1999), argue that institutions provide incentives and options to actors. According to him, the durability and validity of their constraints can be viewed with confidence. Trust, on the other hand, can only be extended to actors and the ways in which they perform and enact their roles within institutions. In this sense, I argue that the problem lies more within the term itself than with the concept as a whole. The argumentation of Ullmann-Margalit (2004) goes in a similar direction. She believes that the future course of institutional actions has to do with reliance and confidence, and not with trust. She says that speaking of trust in an institution means the degree of confidence in its competence and performance, confidence that the institution will continue to pursue the goals it claimed, regardless of the constitution of the personnel. Hence, trusting in an institution describes the belief in the impersonality of its performance and that its goals are compatible with our interests. This differentiates it from trusting an individual, which involves the expectation of a personal attitude towards us. She concludes that it is a misnomer to talk of trust on institutional level (Ullmann-Margalit, 2004, p. 77). However, questions in opinion polls do not distinguish between the two terms “trust” and “confidence”. While the European Social Survey

(ESS) asks about trust in an institution, the World Value Survey (WVS) uses the notion of confidence. In the following, in line with the European Social Survey (ESS), trust in the police is understood as a global and diffuse trust in the institution police. I will distinguish it from attitudes towards the police. Here, opinions about police's procedural fairness and their effectiveness are subsumed. In accordance with Ullmann-Margalit, effectiveness is described by the notion of confidence, as police's performance is affected. This is also in line with studies on confidence in the police that are based on a specific question about how well the police are doing their job, rather than including a global trust measure (e.g. Jackson, Bradford, Hohl, & Farrall, 2009).

Differentiation between opinions about police's effectiveness and procedural fairness is important. On the one hand, trust in the police means believing in their ability to protect and to serve. If citizens consider the police effective in tackling crime and disturbances, they will trust them. Becoming a victim of a crime can change one's opinion of the police's ability to protect and serve, leading to a deterioration of belief in their effectiveness. On the other hand, fair treatment by the police enhances satisfaction with the criminal justice system (Jackson et al., 2011c).

The behavior of an officer is indicative of his trustworthiness. The concept of procedural justice derived from social psychology elaborates on such behaviors in encounters between the public and officials, showing how important the perceptions of people in contact with the legal system are, influencing their attitudes towards them.

2.3.1 Theories of Procedural Justice

Studies of justice deal with motivations rather than focusing on police's effectiveness in fighting crimes. For several years, research on distributive justice dominated the field, based on theories of social control and instrumental issues, dealing with fairness-oriented responses to outcomes. Social control perspectives argued that the use of threat or the application of sanctions are the best options to pressure people into following orders and accepting decisions by authority personnel, such as police officers. The police were therefore seen as sufficiently empowered to secure public compliance with decisions, also with unsatisfactory or restrictive ones. The motivation for people to comply was simply based on the risk of being punished when not following the rules. In addition, as people were seen to react to the costs and benefits associated with accepting a decision, they were expected to comply, as the costs otherwise would be too high. It can be said that the strategy depended on creating potential additional costs for the person that outweigh any potential gains associated with not accepting police or court decisions (Tyler & Huo, 2002, pp. 7–10).

In early studies on personal experiences with the police, it was assumed that citizens' satisfaction was determined largely by instrumental concerns such as the favorability of outcomes. The focus was mainly on economic aspects, such as how the

police handle situations of criminal victimization, such as after a burglary. Alternatively, the impact of violated expectations towards outcomes was also taken into account (Tyler, 1990, pp. 71–73). However, such deterrence approaches of social control were marked by inherent serious weaknesses. Based on the threat of sanctions in cases of non-compliance with the law, an overall surveillance and control would be needed. However, due to the variety of offences, the detection of illegal behavior and rule breaking has become more difficult. There are many settings in which illegal activities are not very visible, such as dealing drugs. Moreover, they often happen outside the public space. Applying sanctions becomes expensive and would even be impossible in certain circumstances, while a voluntary compliance of rules and deference to legal authorities and their decision is less costly and easier to establish. This can more easily be reached based on police's ability to gain consent and cooperation (Tyler & Huo, 2002, pp. 11–14). The broad acceptance of process-based approaches was therefore only a matter of time. In contrast to deterrence approaches, psychological models emphasize people's concerns with fairness when dealing with legal and political authorities. Like normative theories, such models view people as concerned with their ethical judgments about what is right or wrong (Tyler, 1990, pp. 71–73). Moreover, whether people feel in control of the situation, of the process or the decision made by a police officer, is central. People's judgment of the fairness of a procedure heavily depends on such feelings of control (Lind & Tyler, 1988, p. 119). Research on procedural justice—also called procedural fairness—originally focused on dispute resolution in law. In the field of social psychology, Thibault and Walker first used the term "procedural justice" in 1975. They referred to social psychological consequences of procedural variation, with particular emphasis on procedural effects on fairness judgments (Lind & Tyler, 1988, pp. 6–7). Process-based models encourage voluntary deference to legal authorities with the goal of facilitating cooperation and consent. Moreover, decisions should be accepted voluntarily, based on the fair behavior and good faith of police officers and court representatives. The advantages of such process-based policing are twofold. First, it increases people's willingness to cooperate with and consent to the decisions of police officers and judges. Second, it lessens the likelihood of open defiance of these authorities or secret non-compliance with their decisions, and simultaneously decreases the likelihood of hostility toward legal authorities by lowering the risk that individuals will act aggressively (Tyler & Huo, 2002, p. 2). Two perspectives can be differentiated between within the procedural fairness approach: an instrumental perspective and a normative one. On the one hand, the instrumental perspective suggests that assessments of procedural fairness are based on outcomes. People believe that a procedure is fair when they have control over decisions. The normative perspective, on the other hand, argues that there are other aspects of people's experiences other than outcome; the focus is more on the procedures itself. Here, a feeling of lack of control leads to a perception of procedures as unfair (Tyler, 1990, p. 7). Procedures are viewed as fair when people have the

opportunity to explain their situation or tell their side of a story in a conflict, when they perceive the authorities as neutral, when they are treated with dignity and politeness, and when their rights as citizens are respected (Tyler, 1990, p. 151; Tyler, Jackson, & Bradford, 2013). Judgments about how hard authorities try to be fair are seen as a key overall factor in assessing procedural justice. Placing attributive motives on authorities suggests that personal qualities of authority are crucial. Furthermore, it contributes to the explanation of why people are similarly satisfied with informal forums, such as mediation, as with formal trials. In either case, by making positive inferences about the intentions of the third party, people will feel treated fairly (Tyler, 1990, p. 151). In sum, three types of judgments influence people's reactions to their experiences with a police officer. The first one differentiates between issues of outcomes and issues of procedures; the second is the level of fairness or whether procedures are based on fairness at all; and finally, judgments involving issues of justice versus judgments that do not consider them. Other than that, various attitudes affected by the experience should be taken into account as well, such as personal satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the experience, its outcome, or the procedures used. Related to this, are emotions to the authorities one is dealing with, whether someone feels anger, for example (Tyler, 1990, pp. 74–75).

Recent research confirms that people evaluate their experiences in procedural terms. Reisig & Chandek (2001) found that the perception of how one is treated in a traffic encounter or a breaking and entering complainant has the strongest influence on citizen satisfaction with the way police handle the encounter. In their study of residents in Oakland and Los Angeles, Tyler & Huo (2002) show that process issues have an impact on trust in courts and the police. They included two types of contact: making calls for assistance and stops for questioning or engaging in a law-breaking activity. Trust in police motives was measured according to an index of five items concerning the opinions of the character of the police and the benevolence of their motives. Procedural justice and trust in motives of the police in encounters are found to have an impact on general opinions on legitimacy of the legal authority, on trust in others in the community, and on people's identification with the society. The primary factor that shaped broader opinions was the assessment of processes people experienced. While the values measuring the outcome—fairness and favorability—are rather weak, those of quality—quality of decision-making and quality of treatment—strongly correlate with trust in the police (Tyler & Huo, 2002, pp. 132–134). In an earlier study of Tyler (1990) which took place in Chicago, 70% of citizen who initiated contact with the police themselves reported that the way the police treated them was very important. Responses were less favorable when people were asked to infer how hard police had tried to be fair with them. Moreover, he found that procedural justice is more important in cases of police stops than in cases where citizens call the police in order to get help (Tyler, 1990, p. 83).

In encounters with the police, the quality of treatment received is more important than the objective outcome (Hough et al., 2010). Sunshine & Tyler (2003) confirm this. They found that procedural fairness measured by items such as "[the police] treat everyone in your neighborhood with dignity and respect," was the primary driver of perceptions of police legitimacy. Distributive fairness and estimates of risk had no effect, neither did any demographic characteristic of the residents. Already, Tyler (1990) showed that procedural concerns consistently take precedence over distributive concerns. The only exception he found was satisfaction with the results of encounters, such as receiving a fine. Here, outcome issues were more important than issues of procedures. The evaluation of performance was influenced more strongly by procedural fairness than by the favorability or the fairness of the outcome.

Theories of procedural justice emphasize the importance of encounters with the police in building trustworthiness. Treatment received by a police officer, whether it was perceived as fair or not, is crucial to people's judgment. The next chapter focuses on the interaction between the police and citizens in general by elaborating the role of institutional representatives. Moreover, rational choice approaches of individual trust and their role in trust in the police will be presented.

2.4 The Role of Encounters

The basic ingredient of social interactions is expectations. Barber (1983, p. 9) distinguishes between three forms: those of persistence and fulfilment of a natural and moral social order; role performance of those involved in social relationships as well as within the social system; and finally, the expectation that partners in interactions will carry out their fiduciary obligations and responsibilities. I will not be able to elaborate on the expectations of people interacting with the police, simply because the data that will be used contains no such information. Nevertheless, role performance can be elaborated on, which will partially be done in this chapter. Lastly, the moral social order will be considered in chapter 2.5, which discusses the impact of social trust.

How can institutions in modern societies and democracies contribute to their trustworthiness? According to Giddens (1990), their trustworthiness is built on positive experiences with institution representatives. Experts representing the system encounter citizens at "access points", building the meeting ground of commitments, referring to a connection between citizens and representatives of the systems. Such encounters can be "face-work" and "faceless" commitments. While the first one refers to a face-to-face relationship between actors, "faceless commitments" indicate a relationship of an actor to various social groups, organizations, and institutions.

On the one hand, encounters are points of vulnerability. On the other hand, they enable building or maintaining trust. Face-work commitments tend to be heavily dependent upon the demeanor of system representatives or operators, in the sense of an expected and adequate behavior. A doctor is expected to show his expertise, for

example, or public transportation personnel are expected to be polite. Even when encounters between individuals or groups are not necessary for building trust, people are still involved at access points, through the differentiation between expert and expertise. Furthermore, mechanisms of trust in abstract systems—especially trust in expert systems—are closely connected to the nature of modern institutions. In modern systems with a universe of events created by expert knowledge, reliance of a layperson generates a sense of security. It is a matter of a benefit-risk calculation. Institutionalization happens when social relations are "disembedded" from local contexts of interaction and are restructured across indefinite spans of time and space. Such disembedding mechanisms depend upon trust. Therefore, a re-appropriation of disembedded social relations, of social relations at the access points, enables the constitution of trust in abstract systems (Giddens, 1990).

As can be seen, encounters with police officers are important for people's trust-building process. Procedural justice theories emphasize the importance of correct treatment. When people feel treated wrongly or unfairly, their trust in the institution "police" as a whole is destroyed. However, to take a step backward, the interaction between a police officer and a citizen is an interaction between two people, determined by an individual trust. Rational choice perspectives define such trust between individuals as strategic. One famous representative is Russell Hardin (1992, 2002, 2004, and 2006). He distinguishes between three dimensions of trust: how individuals choose to trust, to whom they direct trust, and in which incidents they trust. In other words, trust is a three-part relation: A trusts B to do, or with respect to, X. Trust is accordingly seen as an expectation and strategic calculation. Strategic trust is one of three conceptions of what would count as the right intentions toward the truster. The other two conceptions are based on the moral commitment and the character of the trustee[10]. The three concepts are seen as cognitive because all depend on assessments of the trustworthiness of the potentially trusted person. If trust is cognitive, we do not choose to trust. Rather, once we have a relevant knowledge of the moral commitments, the psychological or character disposition, or the encapsulation of the truster's interest, that knowledge constitutes our degree of trust or distrust. To say we trust someone means that we know or think we know relevant things about this person, especially about their motivations toward us. Therefore, one can mistakenly trust or distrust someone, merely because one has erroneous information about him or her. As a rule, we trust only those with whom we have an extensive rapport, sufficient to judge them trustworthy, and even then, we only trust them over a certain range of actions (Hardin, 2006, pp. 17–19).

Hardin (2002) argues that it is wrong to speak of trust in government and its institutions, as the knowledge demanded by the conception of trust is unavailable to ordinary citizens. In order to base the arguments of trust in government on the

[10] In the following, analogous to Hardin (2006), "truster" refers to someone who trusts someone else, while "trustee" refers to the confider, the person somebody trusts.

analogy of trust in individuals, trustworthiness of government agents and the knowledge of citizens about such trustworthiness have to be considered. The central problem of the translation of individual-to-individual relationships to individual-to-group or individual-to-institution relationships is that trust in government or other institutions is based on reasons—derived from knowledge—to believe that their agents are trustworthy. However, such conditions of interactions and of knowledge are unable to be met. Still, the encapsulated interest approach can be transferred to institutional trust. Moreover, if individual trustworthiness correlates strongly with interests in individual-to-individual relations, it seems likely that it must also do so in intra-organizational relations, as they might be perceived as individual-to-individual relations in certain situations. If this is the case, the question of whether role holders in organizations are trustworthy correlates with the question of whether it is in their interests to do what they are expected or trusted to do. This interest can be seen in how their roles are designed, as individual role holders might be interchangeable. However, this might be difficult in modern institutions, as no one possesses enough knowledge about the large number of individual role holders. Moreover, only a few people understand agency structures and the roles within them. The solution is a form of trust called "quasi trust": both individuals and institutions can be trustworthy without our knowing and trusting them, based on expectations derived from current and past actions. There is no need to understand the design of an institution in order to trust it, or to know how their structures produce correct actions by its agents. Moreover, it does not require knowledge of the agents in an ongoing relationship that could give us the bases for trust in them. Trust will be generated based on the facts of the behavior, or the result of the behavior (Hardin, 2002, pp. 151–157). Even if Hardin links his quasi trust to representatives' behavior, the argumentation is rather vague. He states:

"to be confident of it [institution], we need only inductively generalize from what we think to be the facts of its behavior or even only from the apparent results of its behavior, as we inductively generalize that the winter will be cold" (Hardin, 2002, p. 159).

Applied to trust in the police, this means that police officers as representatives or agents play a crucial role in building police's trustworthiness. The decision whether or not to trust an officer and the police as an organization is simply based on the behavior of an officer. No knowledge about laws behind a certain action, as well as no understanding of the structures of the police, is needed in order to trust them. Hardin's concept clearly contrasts institutional approaches that link legal institutions with other governmental ones. When no knowledge about the institution and its rules behind is needed in order to judge the police, it is not important how well they are developed, whether the police are part of a larger governmental system as in post-communist countries, or more or less ruled by individual laws emancipating them

partly from political decisions in Western Democracies. What does count towards building or destroying trust in the police is the behavior of police officers, as well as the outcomes of such behaviors. The argumentation of this rather universal approach reminds us of procedural justice theories outlined in chapter 2.3.1: Theories of Procedural Justice, whose core element is based on processes, looking at the role of fairness in procedures.

While Hardin mainly focuses on trust as a strategic calculation, Tyler & Huo (2002) follow the other two conceptions, creating a form of "motive-based trust", that is trust in a person's motives or character. It refers to internal, unobservable characteristics that are inferred from someone's actions. They see it as an answer to the limited nature of instrumental judgments, such as those of strategic trust, where no attention is paid to intentions behind the actions, to a person's unobservable motivations and character. The authors argue that people want to understand such characteristics and motives of others, as they are seen to be influential to the future behavior of others. Therefore, from the understanding of other people's behavior, inferences for their future actions can be made. However, as such motives and intentions are not observable, only the actions of others can be rated. Moreover, actions also do not communicate motivations directly. Another person's trustworthiness is rather seen as a combination of an observed behavior in a given situation, statements explaining the behavior, and general social knowledge. Still, there is always a certain amount of uncertainty about the motives and intentions underlying the actions of those one depends on. Motive-based trust is therefore linked to a state of perceived vulnerability or risk. Thinking about police stops, for example, those being controlled know hardly anything about the intentions behind the action. The police might be looking for a perpetrator of a crime recently committed, or just be performing an ordinary control.

Tyler & Huo (2002) see a difference to Hardin's concept of the encapsulated interest in the disruption of a relationship. According to Hardin, this will lead to a disinterest on the part of the others to act in ways that meet our needs. In contrast, the concept of motive-based trust is seen as being more ethical or moral in nature, and therefore more robust. Converted to authorities, they are viewed as acting trustworthily in situations in which a person does not know whether they have acted in his or her interest[11]. Actions of authorities in concrete situations are therefore seen as linked to concerns other than the instrumental ones, such as personal morality, professional integrity, and feelings of ethical responsibility (Tyler & Huo, 2002, footnote p. 220).

Even if the argument made by Tyler & Huo (2002) goes in a similar direction when applied to authorities, they still focus on knowledge, linking their motive-based trust to a certain expertise of officers needed in order to carry out their roles. Furthermore,

[11] Though there are situations where someone knows that an authority is acting against its interests, Tyler and Huo (2002) argue that this knowledge is useless, as the involved citizen does not have the power to defend his interests.

they argue that police officers may have earned their authority because they developed personal relationships with people who came to know them through personal experience. This argumentation is linked to the goal of strengthening community-policing approaches and developing personal connections between police officers and the members of a community (Tyler & Huo, 2002, pp. 66–67).

So far, theories of procedural fairness and of strategic trust highlight the importance of police encounters in shaping people's overall perception of the police. Unfortunately, the data that will be used in the analyses later on does not allow for consideration of all of the aforementioned subtleties, such as police officers' motives. Nevertheless, the theoretical information given is important in understanding the role of police encounters. Next, the focus is turned on research. In the following, an overview of research results on police encounters is given, taking into consideration aspects that later enter into analyses. The focus lies on the perception of the interaction, such as how satisfied an individual was with how his or her case was treated by the police. I will describe why it is important to differentiate between contact where the public or victims have approached the police and encounters initiated by the police, e.g. in traffic controls.

2.4.1 Research Overview

A literature overview shows that studies from Great Britain and the United States dominate the field of police research. Moreover, within U.S. publications, many stem from Chicago (Tyler, 1990; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005; Skogan, 2005; Skogan, 2006). According to Schuck & Rosenbaum (2005), reasons may be found in the racial, ethnic, and socio-economic diversity of Chicago, as well as its recognized history of community policing innovation. Moreover, many efforts are underway to reform police departments, testing innovative reform and projects.

On average, individuals who had no contact with the police rated them more favorably than those who had such contact (Homant, Kennedy, & Fleming, 1984; Reisig & Parks, 2000). In their study conducted in three cities in Florida, Reisig & Parks (2000) show that individuals who perceive a self-initiated police contact, such as a call for service or a traffic stop, as positive are more satisfied with the police than persons who had no contact with the police. Satisfaction with the police was measured by three items, covering the quality of police service in the neighborhood and whether or not they provided services that neighborhood residents wanted, as well as by a rating of the job the police were doing in terms of working with people in the neighborhood to solve local problems. Rosenbaum et al. (2005) found no changes in attitudes due to having been in contact with the police for both police- and citizen-initiated scenarios.

2.4.1.1 Differences between Police- and Citizen-Initiated Contact

Most of the literature differentiates between citizen-initiated and police-initiated contact. Police contact initiated by citizens may concern reporting suspicious or anti-

social behavior, seeking help after criminal victimization, or being involved in an accident. Police-initiated encounters may occur in traffic controls, identity checks on the street, or a violation of the law. Hence, when analyzing people's experience with police encounters and its influence on trust in them, it is important to distinguish between different kinds of contact. Moreover, depending on the type of contact, population expectations might differ. While a crime victim expects help and assistance from the police, someone stopped for a traffic control is annoyed at the time lost. Alternatively, in cases of violations of the law, the offender hopes that the police will treat him correctly. Since citizens ask for help and assistance when they contact the police, adequate care leads to a higher level of thankfulness (Tewksbury & West, 2001). On the other hand, treatment perceived as unfair will lead to disappointment.

Studies looking at encounters between the public and the police are more numerous, often using specific questions about the type of contact, as well as satisfaction with the police. Due to the frequent restriction on certain areas or cities, considering resident's relationship with local police forces, such studies only seldom use abstract measurements for investigating an overall trust in the police.

The impact of experiences on attitudes towards the police is more relevant in citizen-initiated contact than in police-initiated contact. In his Chicago study, Tyler (1990) shows that respondents generally felt less fairly treated when stopped by the police than when they called the police for help. In another study conducted in Chicago in 2001, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) found that respondents involved in negative citizen-initiated encounters developed more negative attitudes towards the police, while negative police-initiated experiences were not associated with changes in respondents' attitudes. Vicarious experiences are also a factor. People adopted someone else's experiences by learning negatively or positively from them. The authors measured attitudes towards the police by an index of police performance in terms of being responsive to community concerns, preventing crime, and being polite to residents. The item measuring contact covered any form of contact, without giving any specification.

Another study based on the 2005/2006 Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey data in London supports the finding that satisfaction rates after police-initiated contact are greater than after citizen-initiated ones. Of those stopped, searched, or arrested by the police, about 59% were satisfied with the way the police conducted themselves. The dissatisfaction rate was only 16%. The validity of this result is weakened though by the fact that nearly a quarter of the interviewees chose the answer "don't know". The reasons for this unwillingness to give a clear answer remain vague. A negative attitude or dissatisfaction with the police based on repressed negative experiences might be possible. Those who experienced other types of police-initiated contact reached a very high satisfaction rate of 72% (Bradford, Jackson, & Stanko, 2009).

Studies that focus on contact initiated by the police either includes “light” forms, such as traffic controls, or ask for any kind of contact without any specification. Reasons may lie within the fact that most of the police stop concern traffic offences, as shown in the study by Tyler (1990). Because most of the stopped citizens received at least a traffic ticket, nearly one in two were dissatisfied with the outcome. Nevertheless, close to three-quarters of these unsatisfied people evaluated the outcome as fair and reported they deserved the ticket they received. In another study, Skogan (2005) considered two questions about police stops: having been in a car or on a motorcycle that the police stopped, and stopped and questioned by the police when out walking; a distinction not often found in studies. He proved the procedural justice thesis by showing that police fairness and politeness, as well their explanation of decisions, had an influence on the level of satisfaction. In another survey conducted in London in 2005/2006, Bradford et al. (2009) found several characteristics associated with increased chances of dissatisfaction with the police after being in contact with them. The largest influence found was whether the police took the matter seriously enough, followed by the police’s response time. Overall, negative judgments were associated with negative assessments of ease of contact, waiting time, whether the police took the matter seriously, and whether a follow-up took place.

Studies only seldom distinguish between local, state, or national police. One rare example is the paper of Reisig & Correia (1997), using three random samples from the same western state: one of state citizens in in a geographically heterogeneous state, one of county residents, and finally one of people residing within the borders of a medium-sized city. They found no negative effect of receiving a traffic citation on the rating of police performance at the city and the county level. In contrast, at the state level, an unfavorable treatment in a traffic citation significantly lowered the likelihood of a positive evaluation of the police. For citizen-initiated contact, results were contrary: the impact of unfavorable evaluations from negative police contact experiences was lower the further away from one’s immediate surrounding the policing happened. These results suggest that contextual variables are important predictors of police performance. Yet, their effects differ across the three levels of policing examined.

2.4.1.2 Treatment of Crime Victims

A major reason for people to contact the police is seeking help, either to report accidents, because of disturbances, problems, suspicious activities in their neighborhood, or to report violent crimes and crimes against property (Tyler, 1990). Therefore, the majority of studies focus on citizen-initiated police contact based on experiences and attitudes of victims of crimes (Bradford et al., 2009). In general, as in contact initiated by the police, satisfaction with the treatment received by the police is important. Studies indicate that victims who were satisfied with how the police handled their case rated them more favorably than those who were unsatisfied (e.g.

Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Brandl & Horvath, 1991). It remains unclear whether the level of satisfaction differs between crime types. While a Swiss study reported less positive attitudes for victims of crimes against the person (Killias, 1989), newer studies for England do not find any differences (Bradford et al., 2009; Bradford, 2010). Moreover, an early U.S. study even found that satisfaction with what the police did was the highest for victims of the most serious types of crimes against the person and lower for victims of property crime (Poister & McDavid, 1978). According to the authors, this deviation from other results might be caused by their use of many more follow-up investigations for crimes against the person. In these cases, victims might more often perceive the police as showing large efforts.

Studies confirmed that the behavior of police officers is important not only in police-initiated contact, but also in cases where the public approached the police (Skogan, 1989; Brandl & Horvath, 1991; Tewksbury & West, 2001; Killias, Haymoz, & Lamon, 2007; Bradford et al., 2009; Bradford, 2010). In their study, Brandl & Horvath (1991), for example, investigated personal crimes, and serious and minor property crimes. Results reveal a strong and dependable correlation between the degree of perceived professionalism and victims' satisfaction accross all crime types. The more professional an officer was evaluated—measured according to an index of four items about officer's behavior—the greater the likelihood of victims' satisfaction was. In addition, response time is also important for all groups of offences. However, the positive impact on satisfaction with the police was the strongest for personal crimes. Investigative efforts, on the other hand, were only influential in cases of property crimes. Moreover, information policy played a marginal role. Only informing victims about the actual state of investigations in cases of serious property crimes correlated with their level of satisfaction with the police. Furthermore, the study confirms another aspect of the procedural justice theory: Police's willingness to give advice and to notify victims of progress in their case has a large effect on victims' satisfaction with the police (also: Skogan, 1989; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Bradford et al., 2009). As early as the 1980s, Skogan (1989) showed that if officers to whom victims were talking to were rated as helpful, fair, polite, and informative, victims were generally more likely to perceive the police as similar to them and rate their job performance high.

In Switzerland, victims accuse the police of improper behavior less often. Hence, sources of victims' dissatisfaction with the police might be based on other factors. Findings from Swiss Crime Surveys in 2000 and 2005 show that less than every tenth victim of a robbery complains about impolite treatment. Disinterest of the police in the case is responsible for the most dissatisfaction, followed by low efforts. Results are similar for victims of burglary. Not enough effort by the police is an especially frequent complaint by victims of assaults and threats, while they are more satisfied with the interest shown by police officers (Killias et al., 2007).

2.4.1.3 Reporting Crimes

The reporting of the crime is often at the beginning of victim-initiated police contact. A positive experience with the police when reporting an offence not only affects people's trust in the police but also results in a higher possibility of reporting again (Schwind, 2010). Reporting as an indicator of trust in the police depends on the gravity of the crime and its consequences. Concerning crimes against property, the reporting rate is higher the higher the amount of loss. Concerning violent crimes, a possible damage to reputation, after a sexual incident for example, prevent people from reporting. Hence, the level of reporting is the highest for serious crimes against property and the lowest for personal crimes (Killias, Kuhn, & Aebi, 2011a). Analyses of Swiss Crime Survey data in 1989 confirm that victims that reported a crime to the police rated them more favorable than those who withdrew charges (Killias, 1989). Further analyses later on confirm this (Killias & Berruex, 1999). However, for both crimes against property and crimes against the person, other factors are more important. The chance that a burglary is reported to the police is seven times higher in cases of large financial losses, while a rural crime scene, a male victim, and a positive image of the police contribute to a decreased chance of reporting a burglary. Offences against the person are reported to the police less often overall. Age and the seriousness of a crime were both found to have the largest impact on reporting: victims 35 years and older and victims of serious crimes have an approximately four times higher chance of reporting a crime against the person compared to younger people and in cases of less serious events. Furthermore, a positive image of the police leads to a two times higher chance of reporting. Reasons for reporting depend mainly on the seriousness of the crime. Since insurance companies only replace losses after a formal report, for burglary victims insurance coverage is the most important reason of reporting. For victims of violence, the seriousness of the crime determined likelihood to report. On the other hand, reasons for not reporting an incident to the police are low seriousness and no damage involved.

In general, a positive perception of the police and the legal system as a whole, increases citizens' willingness to report crimes (Killias & Berruex, 1999; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011).

2.4.1.4 Negative Experiences Weigh More

As seen in the preceding chapters, experiences with institutional representatives are important, as they contribute to their level of trustworthiness. Especially the form of treatment, whether someone perceives it as fair or not, plays a crucial role in shaping people's attitudes towards the police. Whether someone is treated fairly and respectfully by a police officer during traffic control, for example, can directly affect the rating of such a contact, whether someone is satisfied with how the police have dealt with the case or not. Confirmation is provided by the study by Frank, Smith, & Novak (2005), which used open questions in order to find out which attitudes

determine satisfaction with the police. While asking people who had been in contact with the police in the last six month preceding the survey, they found improper police behavior and factors related to the outcome of an encounter were most telling in people's general statements about how satisfied they were with the police as a whole.

A negative experience not only leads to dissatisfaction, but might also destroy trust. Study results on the impact of experiences are divided. While some studies show positive effects of positive contact, others mainly report negative effects of negative contact. Finally, there are studies where the outcome is negative, independently of the rating of the contact. Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich (1996) found that contact with the police perceived as negative decreased the likelihood of positive perceptions of state police, regardless of the type of initiation (voluntary or involuntary). The variable measuring attitudes towards the police was directed towards state police, respectively to their performance on the job. The study by Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum (2003) also confirms a negative effect. Either through voluntary or involuntary interactions, citizens who were dissatisfied with the contact they had with the police showed less positive perceptions of traditional police services. Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum measured attitudes towards the police according to global satisfaction with police services (overall satisfaction with police service in neighborhood), satisfaction with traditional police operations (two items about the department's ability to provide traditional police services), and satisfaction with community police operations.

The impact of positive and negative experiences on trust and attitudes towards the police differs in weight: Negative effects are weighted more heavily than positive ones. This asymmetry hypothesis was tested and proved by Skogan (2006), among others. Skogan found in a neighborhood study in Chicago that, among self-initiated contact, the linear regression coefficient associated with a negative experience was more than twenty times that of a positive experience, in the opposite direction. Contrary to this, for being stopped by the police, the coefficient for a bad experience was only four times that of having a positive experience. Negative experiences therefore lead to more serious negative outcomes concerning trust in the police in cases of contact initiated by individuals. Altogether, having a negative experience is four to fourteen times more influential than having a positive experience, for either police- or citizen-initiated contact. However, it should be considered that confidence in the police here refers to the neighborhood police only.

As mentioned correctly by Skogan (2006), other studies, such as those by Reisig & Parks (2000), show similar results. The negative effects of negatively rated stops were much higher (about six times) than those of the positive effects of positively rated stops. The same applies for the values of dissatisfaction and satisfaction of calling the police. The discrepancy is lower, though (the values for dissatisfaction are about twice as high than those for satisfaction). Bradford (2011) partly confirms the asymmetry hypothesis. Using pooled data from all waves of the British Crime Survey (BCS) between 1984 and 2005/06, he finds a strong asymmetry in the effect of

different levels of citizens' satisfaction on attitudes towards the police in 1992, but a growing positive effect over the years. According to him, this must nevertheless be seen in the light of an overall decline in the number of interactions.

Negative impacts of unfavorable experiences with the police on attitudes towards them holds true for Eastern European countries as well. However, several studies deal with countries marked by very low levels of trust in the police, such as Russia or the Ukraine (Beck & Chistyakova, 2002). In Russia, for example, the already very negative image of the *militsiya* is further damaged by their impolite behavior (Zernova, 2012).

Another factor responsible but not taken into account very often in studies is the attitude of citizens towards the police before coming into contact with them. Existing studies show that previous attitudes influence the evaluation of interactions with the police (Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Gau, 2010; Bradford, 2010; Myhill & Bradford, 2012). In their Chicago study of 2001, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) shows that negative attitudes in the first wave were associated with negative citizen-initiated police contact. In addition, in turn, they were associated with negative attitudes toward the police in wave two. Such a correlation could not be proven for police-initiated contact. In addition, Gau (2010) confirms the inter-temporal stability of attitudes towards the police. However, they also show that the perceived quality of contact remained strong after controlling for attitudinal stability. In a newer panel study, Myhill & Bradford (2012) also compare the impact of police- and citizen-initiated contact. The use of two waves of panel data allows them to test for previous opinions preceding police-initiated contact. People who rated the police poorly in wave 1 were less likely to be satisfied and more likely to be dissatisfied with the police encounter. However, the difference was only statistically significant in the case of highly dissatisfied answers. Satisfaction with the contact was not influenced by the prior opinion of the respondents, as over half of those with an original negative statement were satisfied with the police contact later on. A comparison with those respondents who rated the police as fair in wave 1 shows that those with low levels of confidence were more likely to judge police contact negatively later on, while those with high levels of confidence were not more likely to judge them positively. Testing the asymmetry thesis in linear regression models, the authors further show that experiencing a police-initiated contact is entirely asymmetrical: satisfactory interactions had no positive association with confidence, while unsatisfactory interactions had a significant negative statistical effect. This was not entirely the case in contact initiated by victims. Even if the effect was also asymmetrical with unsatisfactory contact, having a large negative effect on opinions of the police, the effect was smaller for satisfied victims. The authors follow that this positive impact—even when it is weaker than the negative effect—should not be denied and that positive experiences are important as well. For Switzerland, some local studies confirm the positive impact of positive police encounters on attitudes towards them (Roux, 1991, p. 25; Biberstein, 2010), but do not give information about possible negative impacts.

Overall, studies suggest a rather strong influence of bad experiences on negative ratings of the police and a rather low effect of positive experiences, mainly for victim-initiated police contact. However, it seems that police and citizen encounters often overlap. In the study by Skogan (2006), for example, more than one in two people stopped by the police contacted them about some matter over the course of a year.

2.4.1.5 Individual Influences: Socio-Demographic and Other Factors

Socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, income, or belonging to an ethnic minority, have an influence on people's attitudes towards the police. Individual characteristics are important because they directly relate to the extent to which the police stop people or whether people call them for assistance. Moreover, such characteristics are reasons for different or harsh treatments given to people in encounters with the police.

Gender and Age

The influence of age and gender on being stopped by the police is not mentioned widely in research, as the focus is more on the impact on trust in the police. In most of the studies, females are found to have a higher trust in the police than males (Percy, 1980; Brandl & Horvath, 1991; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Schafer et al., 2003; Wu & Sun, 2009). Study results favoring a lower attitude towards the police amongst women are outnumbered (see Correia et al., 1996). The expected greater positive attitude towards the police by women is partly explained by the fact that the police stop men more often than women because they have different leisure activities and are more often involved in criminal activities than women.

Skogan (2005) proves that the distribution and frequency of stops by the police is strongly related to demographic and social factors of stopped people. Close to 30% of males but only 12% of females indicated that the police stopped them over the course of a year. This result is confirmed by Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko (2009) in their London survey of 2005/2006, with a rate of 7 to 3 police-initiated contact for males to females. Finally, Jackson, Bradford, Stanko, & Hohl (2012) also show that the police stop men more often than they stop women.

A similar picture can be drawn for youth: Young people are more likely to get into trouble of all kinds with the police, including stops and arrests. Moreover, they are more likely to become victims of violent crimes. Reisig & Correia (1997) further propose that age differences in opinions of the police reflect the value attached to freedom and autonomy of younger people, versus safety and security of elderly people. Skogan (2005) shows that there is a lot of variation within younger people concerning police stops. While the police stopped approximately only every fifth of 34-year-olds, the number increases with declining age of respondents. Bradford et al. (2009) found the highest percentage of police-initiated contact for 15- to 24-year-olds and the lowest for groups of 55- to 64-year-olds and those older than 65 years. Jackson et al. (2012) also reveals that the younger the Londoners are, the more frequently the

police stop them. It comes as no surprise then that several studies found young people to have less favorable opinions of the police (Percy, 1980; Brandl et al., 1994; Cao et al., 1996; Correia et al., 1996; Reisig & Correia, 1997; Cao, Stack, & Sun, 1998; Schafer et al., 2003; Wu & Sun, 2009; Gau, 2010).

An interesting point is brought up by Bradford (2011) in his study about the development of citizen contact and confidence in the police in Great Britain between 1984 and 2005/06. He shows that, over the years, differences between gender and trust in the police, on the one hand, and between age groups and trust in the police, on the other hand, diminished sharply. The gap between age cohorts shrank until 2003/04, where very little variation in the proportion of very good ratings of local police work remains. This was mainly caused by a reduction in trust amongst the oldest age group rating the police very positively in earlier years. A similar pattern is reported for Germany. Reuband (2012) found diminishing effects of age between 1984 and 2011 for Germany. In addition to the results found by Bradford, the effect even changed in the other direction. While in 1984 trust in the police grew with age, citizens' trust in the police diminished in 2011 the older people were. A fundamental change in the relationship of citizens to the institutions might be one reason for this astonishing trend. This argument is supported by the fact that such a trend was reported for other German institutions as well.

Belonging to a Minority

A large body of research deals with possible correlations between the police and minority groups. It is widely confirmed for Great Britain and America that African Americans and other minorities have a more negative perception of the police than Caucasians (e.g. Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Correia et al., 1996; Reisig & Correia, 1997; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997; Tyler, 2001; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Schafer et al., 2003; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Jackson et al., 2012). African Americans are more skeptical in their opinions of the police and report negative contact and even mistreatment by the police more frequently (Skogan, 2006).

In the study by Skogan (2005) in 2001, the police had stopped African Americans and English-speaking Latinos about ten percent more often than Caucasians during the past year. In another study conducted in Chicago, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) show no statistically significant racial and ethnical differences among the first sample, but more reported negative attitudes by African Americans and Hispanics in a sample of the second point of measurement. Moreover, vicarious experience had an influence as well. The authors asked the respondents whether they had heard about someone having a good experience or bad experience with the Chicago police in the past year. Compared to Caucasian residents, both African Americans and Hispanics reported fewer positive and more negative vicarious experiences with the police.

Results of the study by Weitzer & Tuch (2005) reveal a much lower level of satisfaction with city police amongst African Americans and Hispanics than amongst Caucasians. A similar pattern exists for satisfaction with the police in respondents' neighborhoods. The discrepancy in satisfaction between African Americans and Caucasians remained after controlling for demographic variables such as age. In addition, neighborhood safety and crime rates diminished the influence of race as well.

For Great Britain, results of the study by Jackson et al. (2012) show that belonging to any of the included ethnic minority groups is associated with a higher chance of getting stopped or searched by the police compared to being a Caucasian.

Other Socio-Demographics

There are further socio-demographics found to have an influence on trust in the police not directly related to police stops. Such factors are education (Frank et al., 2005; Kääräainen, 2007), income (Poister & McDavid, 1978; Cao et al., 1996), political orientation (Cao et al., 1998), religiosity (Schwarzenegger, 1992), marital status (Poister & McDavid, 1978; Cao et al., 1998; Skogan, 2005), and place of residence, amongst others. Skogan (2005), for example, showed that education, marital status, and income correlate with the frequency of police stops. For Switzerland, Schwarzenegger (Schwarzenegger, 1992, p. 248) found a more positive attitude towards the police in Zurich Catholics and members of other churches than amongst Protestants. People declaring themselves as nondenominational showed the most negative attitude. Kääräainen (2007) reports that people living rurally have a lower level of trust in the police compared to those living in big cities.

Finally, citizens' leisure activities are taken into account as well. The famous lifestyle theory by Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo (1978) links the form of lifestyle with risk of becoming a victim of a crime. People spending more time outside their homes, e.g. going out more often at night, have a higher chance of being robbed. Such a pattern might be transferable to citizen-police interactions. In line with the theory, it can be argued that citizens meeting with friends at an above-average frequency have a higher chance of being stopped or approached by the police. This was proven in a multilevel study by Kääräainen (2007), showing that people meeting with others once or several times a week have a higher trust in the police compared to those going out only once a month or less often.

Life Satisfaction, Criminal Victimization, and Fear of Crime

Besides individual characteristics, such as socio-demographic features, one should not forget to control for individual well-being. People's trust in the police might have deteriorated after they became the victim of a crime. Furthermore, fear of something can stand for a lack of trust. Hence, criminal victimization and fear of crime may lead to a reduced trust in police's ability to fight crimes. On the positive side, satisfaction with life leads to an optimistic view of the world, a perception that the future will be better than the past (Uslaner, 2002, p. 81). Happy and optimistic people are therefore

expected to have a higher trust in the police and rate police interactions more positively than frustrated and unhappy people.

The primary body of police studies focusing on criminal victimization and trust in the police are based on a procedural approach, looking at the victim-police interaction (see chapter 2.4.1.2: Treatment of Crime Victims). In addition, several studies report negative impacts of victimization on attitudes towards and trust in the police (Poister & McDavid, 1978; König, 1980; Percy, 1980; Killias, 1989; Schwarzenegger, 1992, p. 245; Cao et al., 1996; Kusow, Wilson, & Martin, 1997; Oskarsson, 2010; Bradford, 2011).

Fear of crime is expected to go hand in hand with lower trust in the police, linked to a lack of trust in their ability to fight crime (Cao et al., 1996; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Jackson et al., 2009). Such perceptions are rooted in criminal victimization experiences, amongst others. The victimization perspective implies that a person who became a victim of a criminal act develops a deeper fear of the same crime than someone who did not experience such an incident (Boers, 1991). The assumption was proved for crime that is closely related with security feelings at night in residential areas, such as robbery and sexual offences. However, in multivariate studies, when controlling for socio-demographic variables, effects were only marginal (ibid.). Such a weak or non-existent link often found in studies might be caused by the fact that fear of crime goes along with a less risky lifestyle and therefore indirectly with less risk. Such a link is difficult to discover, due to the cross-sectional character of crime surveys (Killias et al., 2011a). The fact that victims develop avoidance strategies support the assumption that lifestyle and fear of crime are connected. Hindelang et al. (1978) show that even though personal experiences with crime appeared to have an effect on perceptions of crime in one's immediate environment, such experiences did not eliminate the tendency to view crime as more of a problem non-locally than locally. Also looking at the impact on people's behavior, they found that victims report that they limited or changed their activities slightly more often. These differences became greater as the frames of references for the questions moved closer to the respondents personally. Further studies also show that repeated victimization has a positive impact on fear (Skogan, 1987).

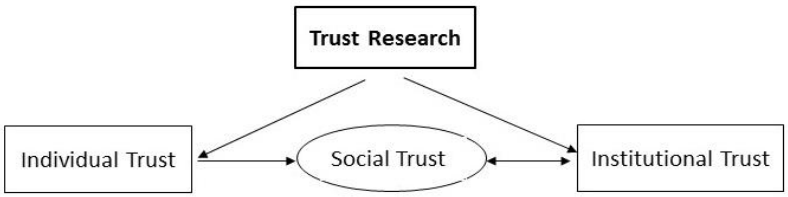
Satisfaction with life as a whole can be seen as a macro variable, linked to country-level characteristics, such as a functioning government, democracy, or social system. In contrast, numerous studies show that the individual situation determined by marital status, income, but also by negative experiences, such as a criminal victimization, plays a role (e.g. Staubli, Killias, & Frey, 2014). Three basic types of well-being can be differentiated between when treating life satisfaction as an individual trait. The short time reaction to pleasant experiences is affective eudemonia, in contrast, captures the normative philosophical idea of a good life, and life satisfaction is finally an intermediate notion. It goes beyond immediate and affective reactions and has a cognitive element, as individuals are asked to consider how they subjectively

evaluate their life as a whole (ibid.). It is followed that life satisfaction can have a moderating role concerning interactions with the police. Happy people have a more positive attitude in general and therefore evaluate other persons more favorably in general. Furthermore, people satisfied with their life have a more positive attitude towards the police in Japan and America (Schwarzenegger, 1992, p. 247; Cao et al., 1998).

2.5 The Impact of Social Trust

Institutional trust is closely linked to individual trust, which is an elementary part of social life. It navigates a society's behavior and leads to reduced social complexity (Luhmann, 2000, p. 93). Moreover, individual trust influences people's opinion of the performance of governmental institutions (Misztal, 1996, p. 245). In addition to this direct link between individual and institutional trust, the importance of experiences with the police on people's perception of them were outlined in the preceding chapters. In accordance with approaches of strategic trust, the relationship between a police officer and people in contact with them was described. Such a strategic form of trust refers to "particularized trust", a trust toward people someone knows personally (such as family members, friends, neighbors, and co-workers). Differentiated from this is "generalized trust", a rather abstract attitude toward people in general, beyond immediate familiarity. It includes strangers, such as people randomly met in the street, fellow citizens, or foreigners (Freitag & Traunmüller, 2009). General trust as linked to a group rather than an individual behavior, embedded in the social relations that occur between people, is called social trust (Welch et al., 2005)[12]. Social trust is therefore situated between individual and institutional trust, as visualized in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Overview of trust research



In the sense of encapsulated interests (Hardin, 2002), people have clear opinions and expectations of trustees. As this concept is directed towards trust in known individuals, Hardin (2002) must admit difficulties in translating his rational concept towards individuals' trust in institutions. Other exponents point to the independence

[12] Existing studies often do not differentiate between particularized (interpersonal) and generalized trust, treating the two concepts synonymously (e.g. Brehm and Rahn, 1997). This may be partly due to confusion in terminology. A review of the literature reveals several different terms, describing more or less the same thing: trust in unknown others. "Generalized trust" is also called "social trust" (Hardin, 2002), "universalized trust" (Offe, 1999), "moral trust" (Uslaner, 2002), or "general trust" (Yamagishi, Kikuchi, and Kosugi, 1999).

of trust from experiences. Even though Eric Uslaner (2002) is not denying that trust in fellow men can stem from interactions and therefore from experiences, he favors a "moral" trust, based upon optimistic views of the world and a sense that we can make it better. Trust instincts are developed early in life with parents as teachers and are stable over time. As an opponent of strategic trust concepts, he argues that moralistic trust is not primarily based upon personal experiences, as it does not make sense to judge most people based on a few actions, particularly when they are of minor consequences (Uslaner, 2002, p. 14). Moral trust can be seen as a dictate to treat others well, even in the absence of reciprocity. Values are not separated from experiences, but largely resistant to difficulties of daily life. Trust must be learned, not earned (Uslaner, 2002, p. 77). Interaction with the police and its impact on trust in and attitudes towards them is at the center of this thesis. Nevertheless, I will consider approaches of social trust as well, treating it as another explanatory force of trust in the police, on the one hand, but also as a mediator in police encounters, on the other hand.

Optimism, the base of generalized trust, has four components: a view that the future will be better than the past, the belief that we can control our environment to make it better, a sense of personal well-being, and a supportive community. People who are happy in their personal lives are more likely to have a positive attitude toward strangers, as their personal mood will translate into a more generalized sense of optimism (Uslaner, 2002, p. 81). Uslaner (2002, p. 26) sees his distinctions as similar to Putnam's "bonding" and "bridging" of social capital: bonding with friends and people like us, but bridging with people who are different from ourselves. This implies that the central distinction between generalized and particularized trust can be found in how inclusive the moral community is.

Generalized trust as a two- or even one-part relationship must be a matter of relatively positive expectations of the trustworthiness, cooperativeness or helpfulness of others. It gives a sense of running little risk when cooperating with others, so that we may more readily enter into relationships with them. The term "generalized trust" is just a claim that it makes sense to risk entering exchanges even with those one cannot claim to trust in the encapsulated-interest sense, as no on-going relationship exists yet. It is not a claim that one trusts others but that one has optimistic expectations of being able to build relationships with certain others (Hardin, 2002, pp. 61–62). Several authors describe the importance of generalized trust. Even Simmel (1992, p. 393) recognized the importance of trust. According to him, trust can be seen as one of the most important synthetic strengths in a society. The necessity of trust is the reason for rules of correct behavior. If chaos and paralyzing fear are the only alternatives to trust, people need to trust each other (Luhmann, 2000, p. 1). Trust as a positive expectation regarding other people's actions and intentions is seen as the basis for reduced social complexity (Luhmann, 2000, p. 93) and the building of social capital (Putnam, 1995), amongst others.

Above all, the truster has to be seen as embedded in systems and structures consisting of social relationships, rules and resources that can have strong constraining and/or empowering influences on him (Möllering, 2006, p. 50). People that share the same norms and values belong to the same living environment (*Lebenswelt*). Living environment is defined as the area of reality seen as a given, every issue that is experienced as unquestioned and unproblematic (Schütz & Luckmann, 1979). It is one part of a plurality of realities, is taken for granted, and is unquestionable. And yet, the consciousness of such realities is intentional and able to transfer from one reality to another. Through inter-subjective processes, an on-going correspondence about attitudes and the perception of the world between people of different realities is secured. Borders of other realities are marked through enclosed meanings and experiences (Schütz & Luckmann, 1979; Berger & Luckmann, 1980). When combining Uslaner's form of moral trust with such phenomenological approaches, I argue that the acts of people teaching their children a moral form of trust and their children learning from them are embedded in a social world surrounding them.

Generalized trust becomes especially important with the development of modern societies, marked by a higher demand for cooperation in an interdependent world. Due to differentiations and segmentations of roles, the behavior of role holders has become less predictable, and role expectations more negotiable. Furthermore, due to a vast spectrum of potential choices, decisions have become less predictable too. Furthermore, there is a growing anonymity and impersonality of those on whose actions personal existence and well-being depend, as well as a growing presence of strange and unfamiliar people in our environment due to migration, tourism, and travel. All these facts led to the development and necessity of trust as a form of social interaction. Moreover, trust has become a necessary strategy for dealing with institutions and organizations, also marked by a higher complexity, leading to inapproachability for ordinary people (Simmel, 1992: chapter V; Sztompka, 1999, pp. 11–14). Countries marked by a culture of optimism and openness towards others might perceive their institutions more positive as well.

Gerben Bruinsma proved the importance of social trust within research of trust in justice in his plenary speech at the 13th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology (ESC) in Budapest[13]. The director of the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR) argued that more comparative research is needed within the field of studies on trust in justice. According to him, trust in justice relates to other forms of trust, such as trust in political systems or social trust in fellow man, which have been hardly researched within criminology so far. While the link between social trust and trust in justice is hardly researched within criminology, individual trust is mostly bound to social capital in social science research (Welch et al., 2005, p. 457). This thesis tries to contribute to this research in order to close this gap.

[13] "Research on Trust in the Criminal Justice System", Plenary Session III, 5. September 2013.

2.5.1 Research Overview

While Hardin (2002) sees social trust as related to experiences with institutions, Uslaner (2002) perceives it as independent of interactions. That social trust and trust in the police are directly correlated—independently of an experience with the police—is widely confirmed (Kaase, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Grönlund & Setälä, 2012). However, study results are mixed. While some results support the arguments that generalized trust is a predictor of political trust or trust in legal institutions (Kaase, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Grönlund and Setälä, 2012), others found the causation to be the other way round, with confidence in institutions influencing generalized trust (Brehm & Rahn, 1997). Either way, it has to be noted that an institutional form of trust, with trust in the police as part of the wider governmental structure, is at the center of the analyses. Whether a country's culture marked by optimism and openness towards others also has an influence on attitudes towards the police, such as on trust in their procedural fairness or opinions of how well they are doing their job, has not been researched yet. Due to this institutional form of trust, most of the surveys are based on large opinion polls aimed at comparing countries, such as the European Social Survey or the World Value Survey.

Results from Grönlund and Setälä (2012) reveal a clear connection between social trust and trust in the legal system. Countries marked by high social trust—measured as generalized trust—have a higher trust in the legal system than countries with low social trust. Their analyses are based on data from the second round of the European Social Survey of 2004, using 24 of the 26 countries included in the database. It is important to note that the results show a robust correlation between social trust and trust in the legal system across countries, in both Western and Eastern Europe. Further confirmation of a strong relationship between confidence in order issuing institutions (the army, the police and legal institutions) and generalized trust is given by Rothstein & Stolle (2008). Using the third wave of the World Value Survey of 2000, they see the impartiality of the institutions as the missing link. In highly corrupt countries, generalized trust is lower compared to countries with less corruption. In their multivariate model, they find that countries with high levels of generalized trust also have the most effective and impartial institutions and the longest running experience with democracy, as well as the most egalitarian socioeconomic outcomes.

Not many studies have analyzed the police separately from other institutions. One that has is Newton & Norris (1999). They analyze pooled data from two waves of the World Value Survey (1980–1984 and 1990–1993). Results show that social trust relates positively but only weakly to confidence in the police at the individual level. A stronger but statistically non-significant correlation was found at the national level. The authors argue that a systemic effect might cause this difference between the individual and the aggregate level. The positive association between social trust and confidence in the police was found among all countries included in the analyses. In Norway, Sweden, and

Canada, high social trust goes along with high public confidence in the police. While most Nordic countries belong to the group with high trust relationships, France, Belgium, and Italy show the opposite tendency in the 1980s, with slightly better values in the 1990s. In these countries, suspicion of other citizens seems to go hand in hand with minimal confidence in the police.

Two theoretical approaches treat the impact of individual trust on trust in justice differently. While Hardin (2002) links it to experiences with institutional representatives, Uslaner's (2002) moral trust is rather stable and independent of interactions. Generalized trust allows people to move out of familiar relationships in which trust is based on knowledge accumulated from long-term experience with particular people. Their optimism is transferred onto institutions, leading to a higher trust in them. In both approaches, social trust and trust in governmental institutions are linked. Consequently, both approaches will be considered in analyses.

2.6 Summary

When analyzing police encounters, a differentiation between contact initiated by the police and those by citizens is important. Most of the studies within the field of citizen-initiated contact concern crime victims reporting an offence to the police. The impact of negative experiences with the police leading to a lower level of satisfaction and trust in them is more often claimed for such victim-initiated contact, while dissatisfaction with police stops seem to have lower impacts.

Within satisfaction levels, the relation with attitudes towards the police is asymmetric in the sense that positive experiences are not weighted as heavily as negative ones. In addition, attitudes prior to an encounter have an influence on the satisfaction level as well. People who already have negative attitudes towards the police before they have contact with them evaluate the contact more negatively.

Several factors have an influence on the perception of encounters and trust in the police. While males, young people, and ethnic minorities have lower levels of trust in the police as compared to females, older people, and non-minorities, criminal victimization reduces peoples trust in the work of the police. People satisfied with their life, on the other hand, are associated with a more positive general attitude, rating police more favorably.

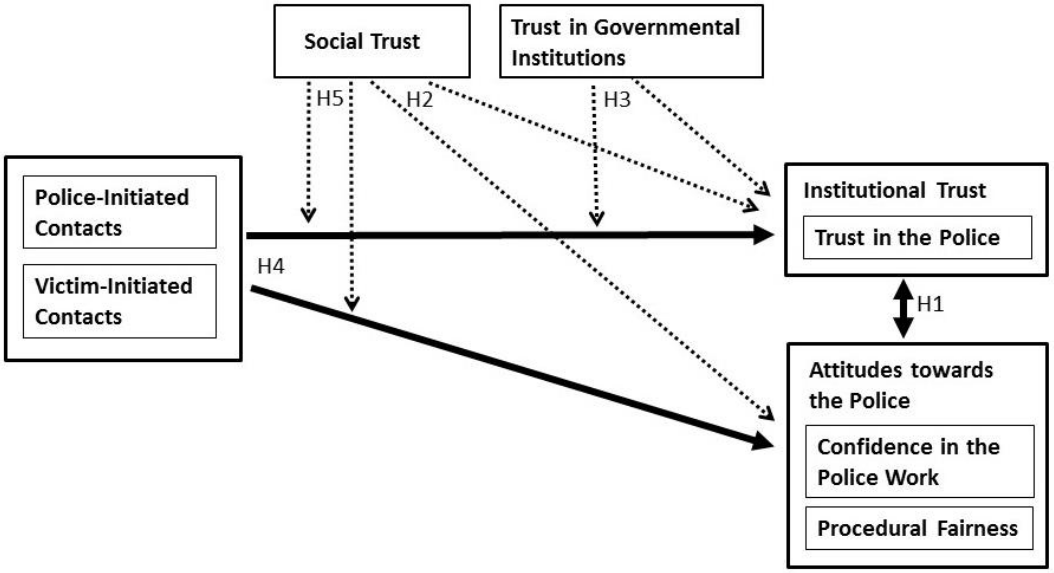
Finally, cultural imprints determine perceptions. Societies with high levels of social trust are marked by higher institutional trust than is the case in low-trust countries. Theories of individual trust are based on others' trustworthiness. This is established by knowledge about the actor. Applied to institutions, representatives such as police officer are in the focus. Here, knowledge is seen as less important. What counts more is the behavior of institutional agents. Trustworthiness of the police is therefore based on ratings about the behavior of police officers in encounters. People are satisfied when officers are perceived as fair, treating people respectfully, and explaining their situation. Satisfaction with an encounter will translate trust towards the police.

Moreover, social realities shape the perception of such encounters. In cultures with high levels of social trust, an underlying openness might have a positive effect on the rating of the contact.

3 Model and Hypotheses

The underlying model of this thesis consists of different parts (visualized in Figure 3). In a first step, I will test whether attitudes towards the police are related to trust in them (H1). Second, I will measure the impact of social trust on trust in and attitudes towards the police (H2). Third, based on institutional approaches, I will analyze whether trust in the police is correlated with trust in further governmental institutions (H3). Fourth, I will distinguish between police- and victim-initiated encounters. In the European part, only encounters initiated by the police will be analyzed; as in the European Social Survey, no questions about other types of contact are included. In the part about Switzerland, victim-initiated contact will be taken into account as well, thanks to additional data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. Furthermore, the data also allows for differentiation between different forms of offences and for the inclusion of reporting of crime (H4). Finally, social trust will be considered as well in the analyses of police encounters (H5).

Figure 3: Theoretical model of trust in and attitudes towards the police
(H = hypotheses)



One of the primary interests of this thesis is to test whether concepts of trust in and attitudes towards the police can be proved across countries. Nevertheless, most of the theories and approaches within the policing field stem from Anglo-Saxon countries. Furthermore, studies dealing with institutional trust at the macro level, comparing countries, often use data records from Western Democratic countries. Contrary to this, there are a couple of studies focusing on post-communist countries, elaborating the development of institutional trust in Eastern Europe after the fall of the iron curtain (e.g. Mishler & Rose, 2001). Therefore, countries of Western Europe

will be compared with those of Eastern. Furthermore, a case study of Switzerland will shed light on the impact of social trust and police encounters on the perception of them in a Western European country marked by high levels of institutional trust (Switzerland ranks together with the Scandinavian countries at the top end of the trust-in- the-police scale).

In literature, procedural fairness and police's effectiveness are used as measurements of trust in the police. They can therefore be seen as elements of trust in the police. Before proceeding with analyses, I will test whether this is the case, and how they are related to each other. In a first step, at a national level, the relationship of countries with trust in and attitudes towards the police will be elaborated on. I ask whether there are patterns across countries, whether or not some countries share similarities. Furthermore, relations of trust and attitudinal variables will be elaborated on at the individual level as well. In addition, for the case study of Switzerland, global and specific attitudes will be taken into account. I argue:

Assumption 1: In the whole of Europe, confidence in the work of the police and opinions of police's procedural fairness are positively related to trust in the police. Moreover, attitudes about local police work relate to an overall global trust in the police.

Hypothesis 1.1: The better the rating of local police work in Switzerland, the higher the people's overall trust and confidence in them.

Existing attitudes, such as negative stereotypes about the police, can affect assessment of police contact. Those people who have generally favorable opinions of the police are more likely to evaluate contact with them positively, while those with generally unfavorable opinions are more likely to give a negative evaluation (Brandl et al., 1994). When comparing countries though, it is important to keep in mind not only the different laws and policies that might affect police officers' daily work, but also to take into account possible influences on the "other side", of the people interacting with the police. Social realities do not only shape individuals' everyday life. Moreover, they are expected to play an important role at an aggravated country level as well, where they can be seen as cultural elements. A country's culture marked by equality and openness towards officials might be an underlying factor influencing people's perception and their evaluation of police contact and trust in police in general. Studies analyzing the relationship between social trust and trust in the police mainly deal with trust in the police as an institution, considering a general trust question. However, as attitudinal studies show, procedural fairness is very important for people's evaluation of the police and their trust in them. Furthermore, instrumental approaches look at the role of effectiveness. Hence, the positive impact of social trust is expected to relate to procedural fairness and confidence in police work as well.

Countries with high levels of social trust have the most effective and impartial institutions, the longest experience with democracy, as well as the most egalitarian

socioeconomic outcomes (Rothstein & Stolle, 2008). It is followed, that Western democracies are marked by high levels of social trust, while former post-communist countries of Eastern Europe have a low social trust.

Assumption 2: Social trust has a positive impact on people's trust in and attitudes towards the police.

Hypothesis 2.1: Social trust is higher in Western democratic countries than in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Hypothesis 2.2: The higher a society's social trust, the higher its trust in the police.

Hypothesis 2.3: The higher a society's social trust, the higher its confidence in the work of the police.

Hypothesis 2.4: The higher a society's social trust, the better its evaluation of police's procedural fairness.

Based on the institutional approach, "the police" are seen as a segment of the state, as an instrument of executive governance. However, compared to other political institutions, the police and the legal institutions have a special task, namely to detect and to punish people who do not obey the law. Criminal justice institutions are therefore more permanent in character than other political institutions such as the parliament (Rothstein & Stolle, 2002). Based on their different duties, political and criminal justice institutions are perceived unequally in Western Europe (Rothstein & Stolle, 2002; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Reuband, 2012), while in Eastern Europe the police are instead perceived as part of the government (Mishler & Rose, 2001).

Assumption 3: The police are perceived differently from political institutions in Western European countries, while they are perceived as similar in Eastern European countries.

Hypothesis 3.1 The higher the trust in political and legal institutions is, the higher the trust in the police.

The behavior of the representatives of an institution, especially in the western world, is seen as an indicator of their fair procedures, which results in trust (Jackson et al., 2011c). Research has shown that contact with the police in general, as well as police's handling a case after criminal victimization, has an impact on opinions of them (Tewksbury & West, 2001; Skogan, 2005). Interaction with the police as either police-initiated or as citizen-initiated is a key element for trust in them. The way the police deal with people has far-reaching implications concerning their trustworthiness. If people feel treated unfairly, their trust in the police will decline. Again, social realities are expected to moderate the evaluation of the police contact, and subsequently people's trust in the police. Based on current research, the following hypotheses are derived:

Assumption 4: An experience with the police has an influence on trust in and attitudes towards them.

Hypothesis 4.1: The impact of unfavorable ratings on trust is stronger than the impact of favorable ones ("asymmetry" hypothesis).

Hypothesis 4.2: The more favorably an encounter with the police is rated, the better the confidence in their work.

Hypothesis 4.3: The more favorably an encounter with the police is rated, the better the perception of police's general fairness.

Hypothesis 4.4: Victims of crimes against the person have lower trust in the police compared to victims of crimes against property.

Hypothesis 4.5: Reporting to the police does not correlate with trust in the police.

Hypothesis 4.6: Victims satisfied with how the police have treated their case evaluate them better than those who are dissatisfied.

It is expected that hypotheses 4.1–4.3 hold true for both Western and Eastern European countries.

Studies about the relationship of social trust and trust in institutions are based on a moralistic approach, treating social trust as a rather stable cultural trait, unaffected by experiences with institutional representatives. Even though the interest is not on the influence of an experience with the police on social trust, it will be tested whether a positive view of the world influences the perception of the police after an interaction with them. The impact is expected to be equally strong in both Western and Eastern European countries, just situated at another trust level.

Assumption 5: Social trust has a positive impact on trust in and attitudes towards the police, especially in cases of police-initiated contact.

Hypothesis 5.1: People's trust in the police after being stopped by them is better the higher their social trust is.

Hypothesis 5.2: People's confidence in the work of the police after being stopped by them is better the higher their social trust is.

Hypothesis 5.3: People's evaluation of police's procedural fairness after being stopped by them is better the higher their social trust is.

All of these hypotheses will be tested according to two data sets. In the first part, I will undertake analyses at the European level, according to data from the European Social Survey. In a second part, I will elaborate on the situation in Switzerland more closely, based on data from the European Social Survey, on the one hand, and on data from the Swiss Crime Survey, on the other hand. More information about these data is given in the next part.

PART II – METHODOLOGY

4 Statistical Analyses

In the following, information about factor analyses, multiple regression analyses, and outlier tests is briefly given. Measurements of bivariate analyses will not be mentioned explicitly here. Mainly correlations will be tested, using Chi-Square, Pearson's, and Spearmen's correlation.

4.1 Factor Analysis

Factor analysis is used to test the institutional hypothesis that the police are viewed independently of other governmental institutions, at least with regard to people's trust in them. Furthermore, it will be tested whether items of social trust, on the one hand, and items of procedural fairness, on the other hand, might be combined in one variable, or whether they are independent from each other. The decision regarding the number of factors to be extracted will be based on the measure of sampling adequacy (MSA). It shows how strongly the variables belong together and therefore whether or not a factor analysis is useful. According to Kaiser, Meyer, and Olkin, who developed the test statistic, a correlation matrix with an MSA < 0.5 is not adequate for a factor analysis, those between 0.5 and 0.7 are mediocre, while an MSA ≥ 0.8 means the sample adequacy is meritorious and an MSA ≥ 0.9 that it is marvelous (Backhaus, Erichson, & Weiber, 2011, p. 269).

4.2 Multiple Regression Analysis

Multiple linear regression analyses will be calculated to evaluate the influence of social trust and individual characteristics on trust in the police. Linear regression models are based on six premises: linearity in parameters, completeness of model, homoscedasticity of residuals, independency of residuals, no linear dependency between the independent variables, and normal distribution of residuals (Backhaus et al., 2011, p. 43). Regression analyses in SPSS allow testing all of them except the completeness of the model. However, only variables discussed in the theory chapter will be included in the analyses. Hence, the chance that the inclusion of too many items will lead to inefficient estimators is minimized. If the assumption of normality is violated, square roots or log transformation will be applied. If no large impact of non-normality is found, results based on the original variables will be displayed. Non-normality is often neglected in research, as it does not affect the measured values but might lead to an invalidity of significance tests (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007, pp. 79–83). Moreover, with a growing number of observations, the empirical distribution is approaching normal distribution. Finally, even if each of the variables included in the analysis is normally distributed or transformed to normal, there is no guarantee that all linear combinations of the variables are normally distributed. This means that if variables are each univariately normal, they do not necessarily have a multivariate

normal distribution. However, it is more likely that the assumption of multivariate normality is met if all the variables are normally distributed. In the case of heteroscedasticity (tested according to Breusch-Pagan and the Koenker test), regressions will be calculated with adjusted standard errors, based on macros created by Hayes & Cai (2007).

4.3 Outlier Tests

The influence of a particular case on the outcome in a multiple linear regression can be assessed by residual statistics such as the adjusted predicted value. A new model without a particular case is calculated and used to predict the value of the outcome variable for the case that was excluded. The adjusted predicted value is expected to be very similar to the predicted value when the case does not influence the model largely. The difference between the two values, the original and the adjusted one, is called DFFit. As such measures do not consider the effect of a single case on the model as a whole, another measurement is necessary. According to Cook's distance, values larger than 1 may be cause for concern.

Leverage is another measure of influence. It assesses the influence of the observed value of the outcome variable on the predicted values. Related to the leverage values are the Mahalanobis distances, which measure the distance of cases from the mean(s) of the predictor variable(s). Furthermore, it is possible to run the regression analysis with a case included and then rerun the analysis with that same case excluded. In order to prevent running too many analyses, the DFBeta value shows the difference between a parameter estimated when using all cases and estimated when only one case is included (Field, 2009, pp. 217–219).

5 Data Set I: European Social Survey ESS5

5.1 Background

The European Social Survey (ESS) is a biennial, multi-country survey covering over 30 nations. The first round was fielded in 2002/2003, the fourth in 2008/2009. This study will use data from the last (fifth) round of 2010/2011 (hereinafter "ESS5"). In every round, a core module covers a certain topic. In the ESS5, this module is about trust in justice. It refers to two important, interrelated, but conceptually distinct phenomena—trust and legitimacy (Jackson et al., 2011a). This module was created in the frame of the FP7 research project "fiducia–justice needs trust", covering several work packages. It is embedded in the work package 11 called "Trust and Attitudes to Justice at Home"[14]. The module has a tripartite structure: level 1 indicators constitute lead survey measures of trust and legitimacy; secondary indicators (level 2) support the primary indicators by providing detail using survey measures of various dimensions of trust and legitimacy; finally, country-based indicators on level 3 help to identify differences based on local specificities (European Social Survey ESS, 2010c).

5.2 Methodology

5.2.1 Weight

The European Social Survey offers two prepared weights. The design weight can be applied to correct an under- or over-representation of people aged 15 and older. The second weight is the population size weight. It will be applied when examining data for two or more combined countries. This weight corrects for the fact that, despite the different sizes of their populations, most countries taking part in the ESS have very similar sample sizes. Without weighting, any figures combining data of two or more countries would be incorrect, over-representing smaller countries at the expense of larger ones. Therefore, the population size weight makes an adjustment to ensure that each country is represented in proportion to its population size. The changes in numbers after the application of the population size weight can be seen in Table 1.

[14] For more information: http://www.fiduciaproject.eu/wps.

Table 1: Frequency distribution before and after population size weight

	Before weighting		After weighting	
Country	n	%	n	%
Cyprus	2,386	4.7	67	0.1
Estonia	1,885	3.7	114	0.2
Slovenia	2,715	5.3	176	0.3
Lithuania	1,677	3.2	283	0.5
Ireland	1,751	3.4	351	0.7
Croatia	1,829	3.6	375	0.7
Norway	1,497	2.9	394	0.8
Finland	1,728	3.4	446	0.9
Denmark	1,793	3.5	453	0.9
Slovakia	1,649	3.2	459	0.9
Israel	2,150	4.2	545	1.0
Bulgaria	2,434	4.8	654	1.3
Switzerland	1,506	3.0	660	1.3
Sweden	1,083	2.1	779	1.5
Hungary	1,548	3.0	854	1.6
Belgium	1,704	3.4	901	1.7
Czech Republic	3,031	6.0	901	1.7
Portugal	1,856	3.7	902	1.7
Greece	2,294	4.5	968	1.9
Netherlands	2,595	5.1	1,366	2.6
Poland	1,403	2.8	3,238	6.2
Spain	1,878	3.7	3,912	7.5
Ukraine	2,576	5.1	3,930	7.6
United Kingdom	1,561	3.1	5,119	9.9
France	2,422	4.8	5,272	10.1
Germany	1,576	3.1	7,080	13.6
Russian Federation	1,931	3.8	12,051	23.2
Total	50,782	100.0	51,970	100.0

5.2.2 Missing Values

I checked the data for missing values. Due to the following coding, exclusions lead to no disruption of results. There are four groups of missing values in the data files, defined in the following way: *Not applicable,* where the respondent has been routed away from the question. *Refusals,* where respondents explicitly refused to reply. *Don't know,* when the respondent did not know the answer. Finally, *No answer* for missing data not elsewhere explained such as respondent or interviewer errors and production or system errors (European Social Survey ESS, 2010a).

Within all frequency analyses, *don´t know* dominates the missing values, while *refusal* and *no answers* account only for about one or two answers per country, if at all. Hence, all the three categories were summed up, marked as “missing” in the following. The category *not applicable* needs no further explanation, as it simply leads to subsamples, such as in cases of people stopped by the police. In such cases, if not mentioned differently, only those people who were asked and subsequently answered the question would be considered.

Frequency analyses reveal a rather small number of missing values across countries for trust in the police: lower than 1.1% in Western European and Mediterranean countries, except Cyprus, and between 1.3% and 5.6% in Eastern European countries (Table 2). The depiction is similar for confidence in the work of police. However, Portugal (2.8%), and Ireland (1.8%) have a larger number of missing items than the other countries within Western Europe. The three items measuring procedural fairness are marked by the largest number of missing values, especially concerning fair decisions and explanation of decisions. Here, in certain Eastern European countries, up to 20% of interviewees do not know the answer or at least report not knowing. It is difficult to find well-founded explanations for this variation between Eastern and Western Europe. It might be that people in the East more often believe themselves as unable to answer the question because they are less experienced with the police.

Table 2: Missing values of trust and confidence in the police (percent)

	Trust in the police	Confidence in police work[1]	Procedural fairness		
			Respectful treatment	Fair decisions	Explanation of decisions
France	0.1	0.1	1.5	4.3	3.5
Belgium	0.2	0.1	0.6	2.9	2.6
Norway	0.2	0.1	1.1	2.5	5.4
Switzerland	0.3	0.7	2.3	6.1	6.0
Denmark	0.3	0.4	1.5	3.8	6.8
Germany	0.4	1.1	4.8	8.3	10.3
Netherlands	0.4	0.8	2.6	6.7	6.6
Finland	0.5	0.5	1.9	3.4	4.4
Greece	0.6	1.0	3.9	7.9	9.5
Spain	0.6	0.4	2.4	6.5	7.2
Sweden	0.9	0.7	3.2	5.6	10.2
Portugal	1.1	2.8	3.7	15.8	17.3
United Kingdom	1.1	0.5	3.0	6.4	10.8
Ireland	1.1	1.9	4.2	6.3	10.4
Czech Republic	1.3	1.7	11.0	13.5	14.3
Estonia	1.7	2.5	7.3	10.7	11.4
Hungary	1.9	2.4	11.5	20.1	17.1
Slovakia	2.0	3.3	13.7	15.9	16.2
Slovenia	2.2	2.1	9.7	12.3	13.6
Israel	2.4	3.1	11.1	14.3	20.3
Croatia	2.4	2.4	8.7	15.3	16.3
Cyprus	2.5	2.4	8.4	13.2	14.7
Poland	2.6	2.2	8.0	11.4	13.4
Bulgaria	3.7	4.4	11.8	19.4	20.4
Lithuania	3.9	3.7	14.1	19.7	17.8
Russian Federation	4.3	4.9	11.4	18.3	15.6
Ukraine	5.6	7.4	12.0	20.0	20.4

Note: [1]referring to the question of how well the police are doing their job in a given country

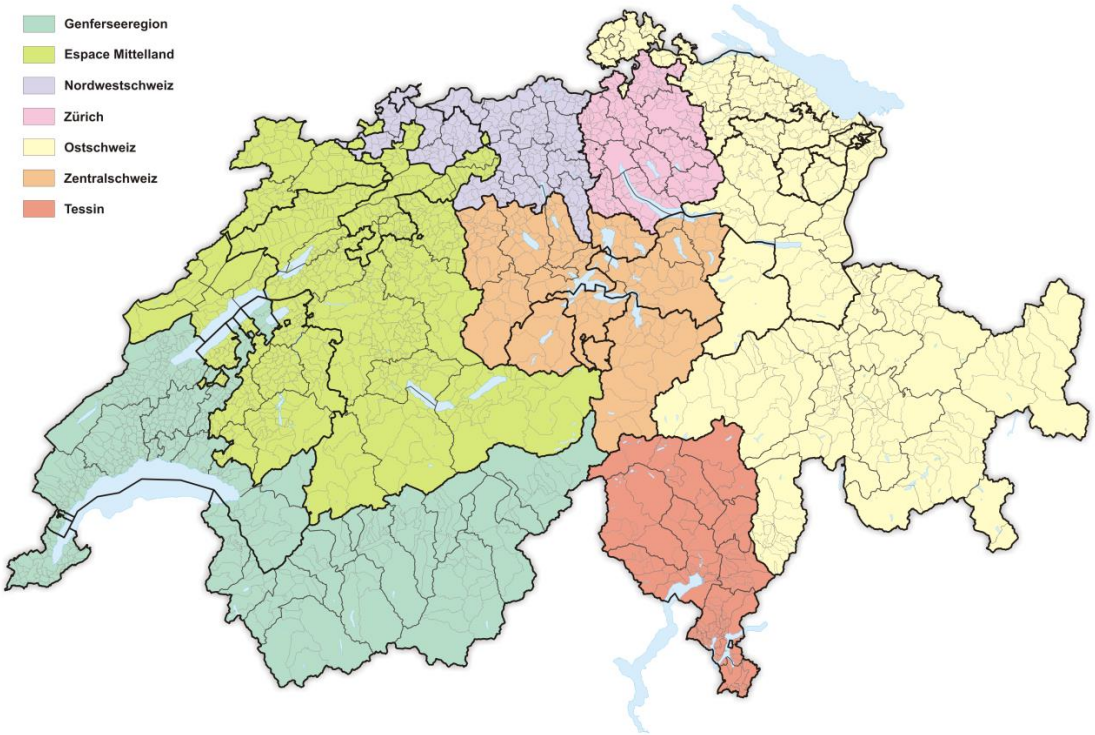
The question of the level of satisfaction with treatment received by the police was answered frequently overall, leading to only a couple of missing values per country.

5.2.3 Procedure for Switzerland

The full register of the population database constitutes the sampling frame. The design was a single-stage, equal-probability, systematic sampling according to regional stratifications, with no clustering (European Social Survey ESS, 2010c, pp. 142–148). The geographic units (7 NUTS regions) are (Figure 4)[15]:

CH01 – Région lémanique (region around Lake Geneva)
CH02 – Espace Mittelland (Midlands)
CH03 – Nordwestschweiz (Northwest)
CH04 – Zürich (Zurich)
CH05 – Ostschweiz (Eastern part)
CH06 – Zentralschweiz (Central part)
CH07 – Ticino (Southern part)

Figure 4: Geographical regions in Switzerland



Source: Bundesamt für Statistik BFS, 2014b

[15] Regional categories were derived from Eurostat. The following Cantons belong to the individual categories (European Commission, 2008, p. 24):

Central part: Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Obwalden, Nidwalden, Zug

Northwest: Basel-Land, Basel-Stadt, Aargau

Zurich: Zurich

Eastern part: Glarus, Schaffhausen, Appenzell-Ausserrhoden, -Innerrhoden, St. Gallen, Graubünden, Thurgau

Southern part: Ticino

Region around Lake Geneva: Vaud, Valais, Geneva

Midlands: Bern, Freiburg, Solothurn, Neuchâtel, Jura

Interviews in Switzerland took place between October 2010 and March 2011. A pre-test with 50 interviews was conducted in August 2010. Out of the complete sample of 2,850, 1,506 people responded, which is considered to a good response rate, at 53.3%. An incentive of CHF30 was given, either in cash or in the form of a voucher or a donation to a charity organization. The decision was up to the respondent. Additionally, in this round, 20% of the sample (randomly assigned) was given an unconditional incentive in the advance letter (CHF30 cash). A respondent-specific web page with information about the survey was made available in German and French. If people refused to participate in the face-to-face interview, they were given a booklet with findings of previous rounds in order to provide them with further information about the survey. Later on, all such non-respondents with a known land-line telephone number where contacted by phone (European Social Survey ESS, 2010c, pp. 142–148).

5.3 Operationalization

5.3.1 Dependent Variables: Trust in and Attitudes towards the Police

The questions asked regarding trust in institutions covers trust in country´s parliament, the legal system, the police, politicians, political parties, the European Parliament, and the United Nations, where all measured on an eleven-point scale.

Confidence in police's effectiveness as well as trust in their procedural fairness was treated as two dependent attitudinal variables. A five-point scale question was used to measure confidence in the work of police. Three questions measure procedural fairness on a four-point scale (Table 3).

Table 3: Dependent variables ESS5

Trust in the police		*Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust in them.*
Confidence in police work		*Taking into account all the things the police are expected to do, would you say they are doing a good job or a bad job? A very good job, a good job, neither good nor bad job, a bad job, a very bad job.*
Procedural fairness	Respectful treatment	*Based on what you have heard or on your own experience how often would you say the police generally treat people in [country] with respect?*
	Fair decisions	*About how often would you say that the police make fair, impartial decisions in the cases they deal with?*
	Explanation of decisions	*And when dealing with people in [country], how often would you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so?*

Note: Source: European Social Survey ESS5, 2010b

Response alternatives for all three procedural fairness questions are *not at all often, not very often, often, and very often*. For the question about the explanation of decisions by the police, an additional answer category was given: *no one ever asks the police to explain their decisions and actions*. However, this answer was not fielded in the Czech Republic and in Norway and will therefore be treated as missing in the main analyses.

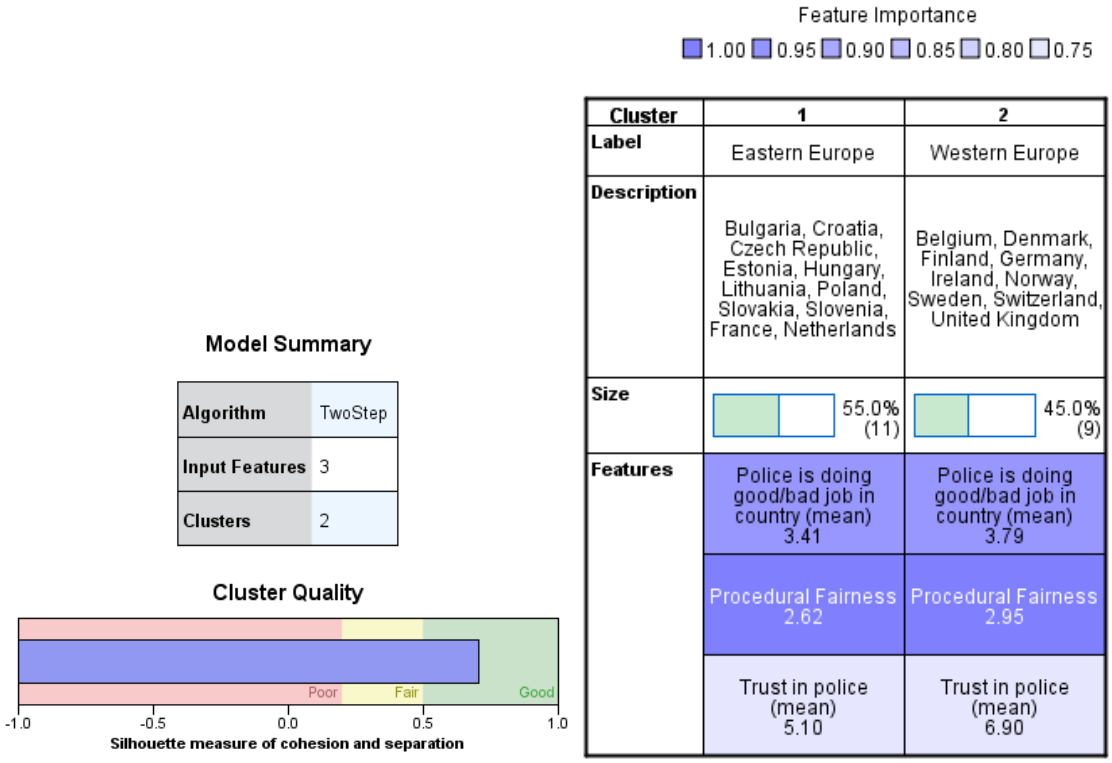
5.3.1.1 Country Cluster

At the macro level, there is a linear relationship across countries between trust in the police, confidence in the work of police, and procedural fairness (see chapter 9: Macro Level Patterns of Trust in the Police). They scatter around two clusters marked by high and low trust in and attitudes towards the police. Moreover, the two clusters can be differentiated between Eastern and Western European countries, with the exception of France and Estonia, which do not follow this pattern. Cluster analyses have been performed to test whether such a grouping can be confirmed statistically. Three items—trust in the police, confidence in police work, and trust in police's procedural fairness—were defined as the pattern criteria. As these items have either a categorical or a continuous scale, rather than doing hierarchical cluster analyses, a two-step cluster analysis is preferred. There are various measures to quantify whether the cluster solution is good. In a good cluster, the distances between the elements within the cluster are close to 1, while the clusters themselves differ from one another. One measure of both cohesion and separation is the silhouette coefficient, ranging from -1 to +1. For every country included in the analysis, the coefficient shows the difference between the smallest average between cluster distance and the average within cluster distance, divided by the larger of the two distances. The silhouette measure for a cluster is just the average of the silhouette measures for the countries within the cluster (Norušis, 2012, pp. 394–404). Based on this measure, the bar of cluster quality shows that the quality of the two clusters is good (Figure 5). Furthermore, it can be seen that procedural fairness is the most important item, followed by trust in the police and confidence in the work of police (the darker the color, the greater the importance). The size of the Western European cluster is 9, meaning that it consists of nine countries: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. The Eastern European cluster consists of eleven countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Lithuania. Due to its lower confidence in police's procedural fairness, France is included in the Eastern European cluster. Moreover, the Netherlands rate the work of their police worse compared to the other Western European countries, which is why it is listed here as well. Despite these facts, as the focus of the analyses will be on Eastern and Western European countries, and as the trust in the police level is at the center of the analyses, both

France and the Netherlands will be combined in the Western European cluster[16]. Russia and the Ukraine were not considered here, as it was decided to exclude them. They not only have very low levels of trust in the police, they might also be seen as special cases. On the one hand, it is currently debatable whether the (future) identity of the Ukraine is characterized by influences of the West or the East. Russia, on the other hand, can be seen as the mother of Eastern Europe, due to its history and its geographical location. Hence, it needs to be studied separately.

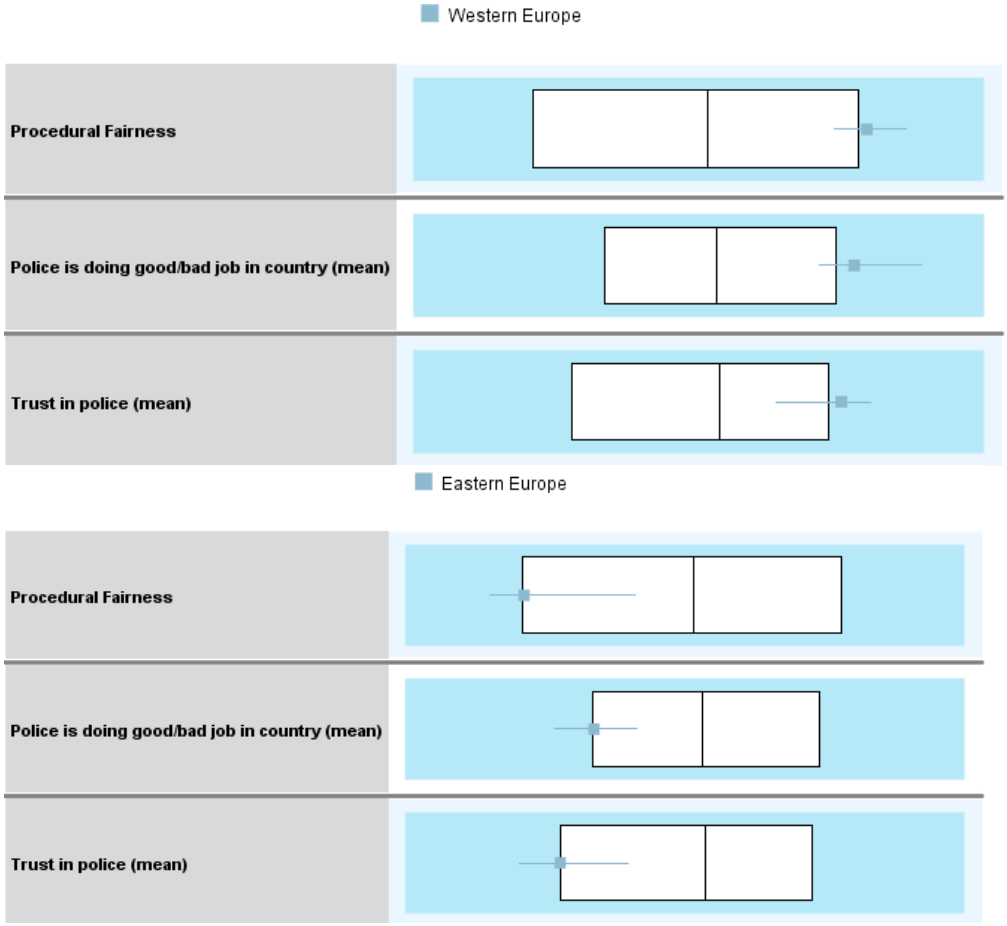
Finally, the cluster comparison in Figure 6 clearly shows that Western European countries range higher on the scale of procedural fairness, trust in the police, and confidence in police work than Eastern European ones. Unfortunately, these figures do not display numbers. However, clusters will be described in more detail later on.

Figure 5: Model summary, cluster quality, and description of clusters



[16] In former analyses, France was excluded due to its outlying position. A comparison of results reveals that primary effects can be found in both clusters, and that only the strength of effect sizes or numbers in correlations differs slightly.

Figure 6: Comparison of cluster items



5.3.1.2 Descriptive Statistics

Trust in the police

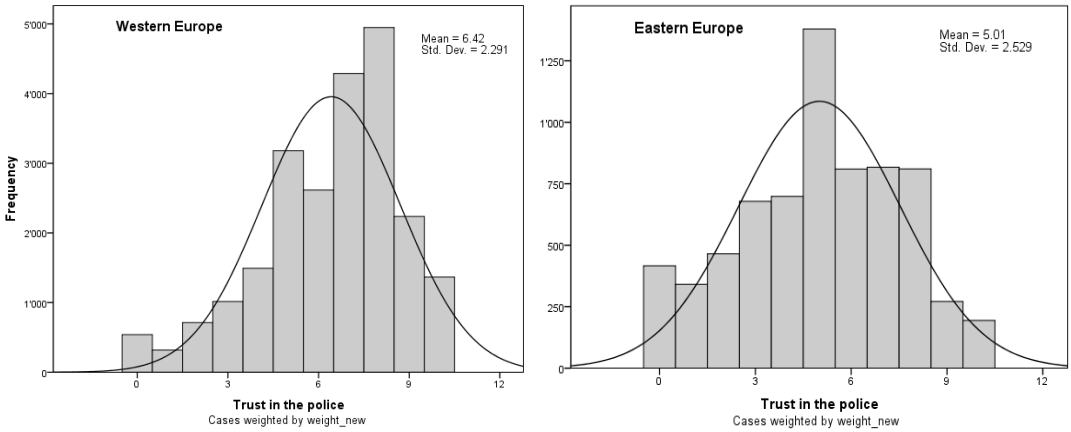
Trust in the police is clearly higher overall in Western than in Eastern Europe (Table 4). The highest trust is found in Switzerland. Trust in the police is left-skewed in Western Europe (skewedness = -.839, kurtosis = .495), while it follows an almost normal distribution in Eastern Europe (skewedness = -.195, kurtosis = -.631, Figure 7). Within Western Europe, especially people with a very low level of trust in the police cause skewedness: 3.1% (546) report having no trust at all in the police (scale 0 or 1). Moreover, analyses of the z-score values show that there are several outliers (results not shown here). Linear regression analyses will be calculated with and without these outliers. Due to the broader variance in Eastern Europe, the number of people who do not trust the police at all does not fall outside of the frame. Hence, they will not be considered outliers.

Table 4: Frequency distribution of trust in the police across Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Switzerland

Trust in the police	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Switzerland
0 – no trust at all	6.0 (416)	2.4 (539)	1.1 (17)
1	5.0 (341)	1.4 (318)	0.8 (12)
2	6.8 (465)	3.1 (713)	2.0 (30)
3	9.9 (679)	4.5 (1,015)	3.3 (49)
4	10.2 (699)	6.6 (1,492)	4.3 (65)
5	20.0 (1,379)	14.0 (3,179)	9.9 (149)
6	11.8 (810)	11.5 (2,615)	9.7 (146)
7	11.9 (817)	18.9 (4,288)	18.9 (284)
8	11.8 (810)	21.8 (4,948)	27.4 (411)
9	3.9 (271)	9.8 (2,236)	13.6 (204)
10 – complete trust	2.8 (194)	6.0 (1,366)	9.0 (135)
Total	100.0 (6,882)	100.0 (22,709)	100.0 (1,502)
Refusal	0.0 (2)	0.0 (1)	-
Don't know	2.2 (157)	0.5 (113)	0.3 (4)
No answer	0.2 (14)	0.0 (1)	-

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets

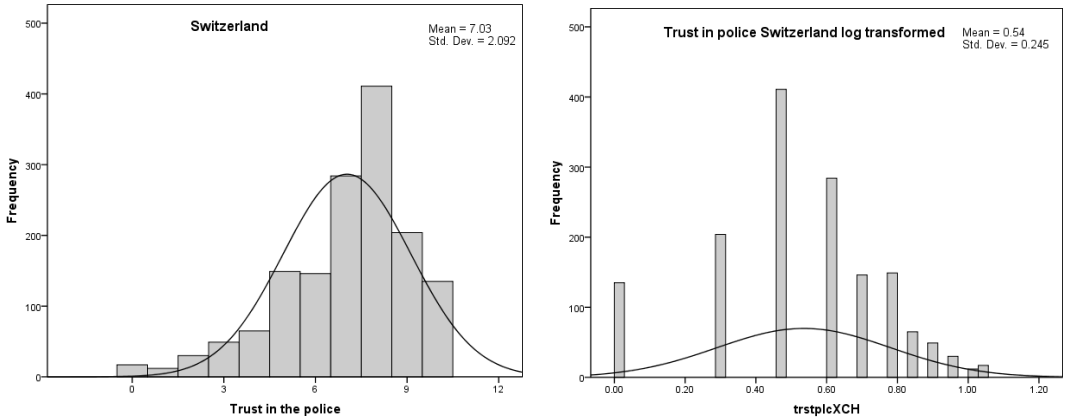
Figure 7: Histograms of trust in the police in Western and Eastern Europe



A stem and leaf plot and a histogram of Switzerland shows that trust in the police in Switzerland is not normally distributed (Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is statistically significant), but is instead left-skewed and too peaked (skewedness = -.97, kurtosis = .90, Figure 8). In order to fulfil the requirement for normal distribution in multiple linear regression analyses, the square root was extracted[17]. Results reveal a distribution much closer to a normal distribution, with a clearly reduced skewedness (.27) and kurtosis (-.11). However, models will be calculated both with and without outliers, and results will be compared.

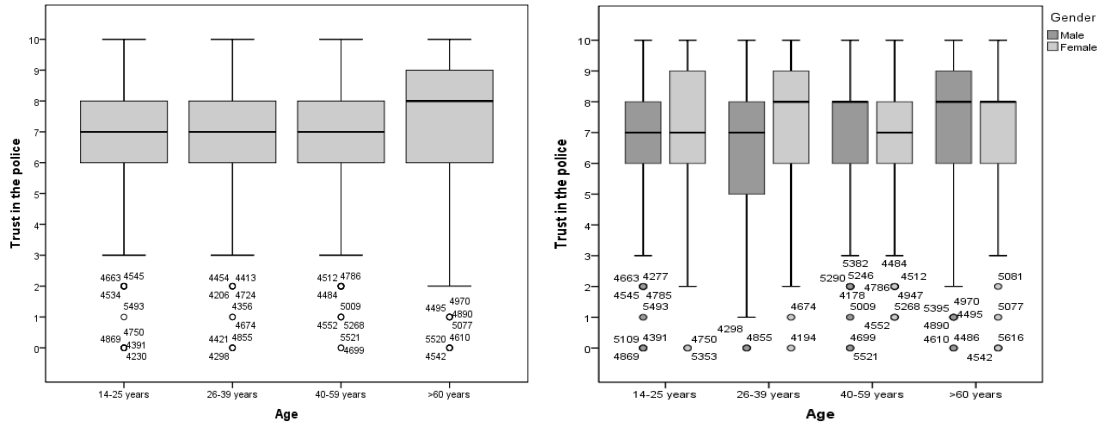
[17] Non-normality produces an underestimation of the variance of a variable. Additionally, in large samples, the null hypothesis is likely to be rejected (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2007, pp. 79–83). However, Tabachnick and Fidell argue that such a violation of the assumption of normality will not affect statistics largely in cases of large data sets.

Figure 8: Histogram of trust in the Swiss police before and after log transformation



A boxplot shows that people older than 60 years have an above average trust in the police (Figure 9). Moreover, a separation by gender reveals that females have a higher trust in the police than males. Especially young males between 26 and 35 years have a below-average trust in the police. Extreme cases are evenly distributed among age groups. As seen, especially people with a low trust can be considered outliers. Analyses of frequencies show 29 people report a trust level of 0 or 1, 30 report a level of 2, and 49 a level of 3.

Figure 9: Box plot of trust in the police in Switzerland



When elaborating upon these 29 people with no trust in the police (level 0 or 1) more closely, an overall low trust in political and institutions issuing order is found (Table 5). More than half of those persons with no trust in the police have a trust in the political system lower than 3. The negative trust values are even undercut by trust in the legal system: 55.5% (15) do not trust them at all (0 or 1). Unfortunately, nothing can be said about people's experiences with the legal system as a whole, whether people have been prosecuted, for example, which might be a reason for such overall negative attitudes towards those institutions (Albrecht & Greene, 1977).

Analyses of police contact reveal an above-average level of encounters: 62.1% (18) report being approached, stopped, or contacted by the police during the last two years preceding the survey, while the rate amongst the full sample is only 42.9%.

However, the level of satisfaction does not differ widely from the rest of the population, as shown in Table 6. It can be concluded, however, that the sources of their mistrust must be located somewhere else.

Table 5: Outliers' trust in governmental institutions

	Parliament	Politicians	Legal System
0 – no trust at all	4	8	8
1	3	4	7
2	3	3	4
3	4	3	4
4	7	1	2
5	3	6	1
6	1	2	-
7	1	-	1
8	1	-	-
9	-	-	-
10 – complete trust	-	1	-
Total	27	28	27

Note: Source: ESS5; Swiss sample
Number of cases, answer "don't know" not included (parliament 2, politicians 1, and legal system 2)

Table 6: Outliers' satisfaction with police contact

Satisfaction with police contact	n
Very dissatisfied	6
Dissatisfied	3
Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied	3
Satisfied	2
Very satisfied	3
Total	17

Note: Source: ESS5; Swiss sample of people stopped by the police (number of cases, 1 missing)

Analyses of socio-demographics reveal that more men than women do not trust the police (62.1%), and that distribution among age groups is even. Those with low trust do not belong to a certain segment of society when their household income is taken into account. While some of them belong to the lowest two income brackets, earning less than CHF 45,500, the same number of people have a yearly budget between CHF 79,500 and CHF 127,500 (n = 8). However, no one belongs to the highest two income groups. Moreover, the high rate of unknowns and refusals must also be taken into account (8). Five (17.2%) of those without trust report being a victim of an assault or a burglary in the last five years preceding the survey. Finally, these low-trust individuals are dissatisfied with life: eight of the twenty-nine persons range between 0 and 5 on the scale.

Based on these interpretations, an exclusion of the people with no trust in the police would be adequate, as a bias in the results is expected. However, it was decided that they would be kept, but that primary analyses would be run with and without

them, comparing the results afterwards. Additionally, in linear regression analyses, empirical tests for outliers will be done.

In addition to the dependent variable of trust in the police, control variables were also analyzed carefully for Switzerland, with a special focus on age (age and income, age and gender, age and political orientation, as well as age and life satisfaction). Results reveal certain outliers for political orientation and life satisfaction. However, no further attention is paid to these outliers, as age and life satisfaction will be included as control variables in multiple linear regression analyses.

Due to the large sample sizes, no further analyses of outliers for the two European clusters were done.

Confidence in the work of police

When considering confidence in police work, it can be seen that the work of the Swiss police is evaluated outstandingly high, with more than 81.1% of the Swiss population attesting a job well done on the part of the police (Table 7), while the number in Western Europe is lower (71.4%). It is especially low in Eastern Europe, where only about half are satisfied with how the police are doing their job (50.6%).

Table 7: Frequency distribution of confidence in police work in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Switzerland

Confidence in police work	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Switzerland
Very good job	2.5 (173)	7.1 (1,618)	10.4 (155)
Good job	48.1 (3,311)	64.3 (14,585)	70.7 (1,057)
Neither good nor bad job	37.9 (2,612)	22.0 (5,003)	15.7 (235)
Bad job	10.0 (688)	5.6 (1,273)	2.5 (38)
Very bad job	1.5 (100)	1.0 (221)	0.7 (11)
Total	100.0 (6,884)	100.0 (22,700)	100.0 (1,496)
Don't know/refusal/no answer	10.4 (170)	0.5 (124)	0.7 (10)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets

Trust in procedural justice

While confidence in the Swiss police stands out in Western Europe, differences amongst procedural justice items are smaller (Table 8). Within Western Europe, about 85% attest that their police treat people respectfully and about 83% that they employ fair procedures. Nevertheless, the police of Switzerland are clearly more often seen as explaining their decisions compared to the police in Western Europe (75.5% vs. 67.6%). Numbers are clearly lower in Eastern Europe for all three items, with only about 62% of people attesting to the police being respectful and fair (63.8% and 62%). An especially bad rating is given to the explanation of decisions, where only about half agree (49.9%).

In research, procedural fairness is often measured according to the three items: respectful treatment, fair decisions, and explanation of decisions. With factor analyses, it can be tested whether such a combination of items would be equally adequate in

the samples used here. A principal component analysis reveals one factor for both Western and Eastern European countries. Additional factors do not have Eigenvalues larger than 1 and are therefore inadequate. However, model adequacy is only mediocre, and worse for Western European countries, where only 63.4% of the variance can be explained (KMO = 0.654). The values for Eastern Europe are slightly better (KMO = .678, 68% explained variance). The individual items correlate significantly in both clusters but more strongly in Eastern Europe (Table 9). These factor analyses results are highlighted by reliability analyses (East: α = .748, West: α = .691, p>0.001). Based on these results, the combined procedural fairness item will be included in the analyses when necessary, such as for elaboration of correlations at aggregated country levels.

When doing the same analyses for the Switzerland sample, it can be seen that the correlation coefficients are about the same as in the Western Europe cluster, but slightly weaker (Table 10). The results of the factor analyses are pretty much the same as those for Western Europe, thus revealing one factor (KMO = .661). Cronbach's Alpha is slightly lower than .7 (α = .669), above which a combination of items is recommended (Field, 2009, p. 675). It can be deduced that building a procedural fairness index is also adequate for Switzerland.

Table 8: Frequency distribution of procedural fairness items in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Switzerland

	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Switzerland
Respectful treatment			
Not at all often	4.6 (294)	2.3 (517)	1.4 (20)
Not very often	31.4 (2,003)	17.3 (3,820)	11.1 (164)
Often	58.0 (3,692)	66.3 (14,660)	67.7 (996)
Very often	5.9 (379)	14.1 (3,110)	19.8 (292)
Total	100.0 (6,367)	100.0 (22,108)	100.0 (1,472)
Don't know/refusal/no answer	9.7 (687)	3.1 (716)	2.3 (34)
Fair decisions	3.6 (220)		
Not at all often	3.6 (220)	2.0 (423)	1.8 (26)
Not very often	34.2 (2,075)	18.7 (4,010)	15.3 (217)
Often	57.7 (3,501)	69.2 (14,823)	71.4 (1,010)
Very often	4.5 (272)	10.2 (2,175)	11.4 (161)
Total	100.0 (6,068)	100.0 (21,431)	100.0 (1,414)
Don't know/refusal/no answer	14.0 (986)	6.1 (1,393)	6.1 (92)
Explanation of decisions			
Not at all often	10.6 (612)	6.2 (1,275)	3.8 (53)
Not very often	39.3 (2,277)	31.8 (6,513)	20.8 (291)
Often	44.7 (2,585)	51.8 (10,623	62.1 (869)
Very often	5.4 (314)	10.2 (2,081)	13.4 (187)
Total	100.0 (5,787)	100.0 (20,492)	100.0 (1,400)
No one ever asks the police to explain their decisions	3.1 (222)	2.3 (514)	1.1 (16)
Don't know/refusal/no answer	14.8 (1,045)	7.9 (1,818)	6.0 (90)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets

Table 9: Correlations between procedural fairness items in Western and Eastern Europe

	Western Europe			Eastern Europe		
	Respectful treatment	Fair decisions	Explanation of decisions	Respectful treatment	Fair decisions	Explanation of decisions
Respectful treatment	1.000	.553***	.382***	1.000	.614***	.448***
Fair decisions	.553***	1.000	.404***	.614***	1.000	.468***
Explanation of decisions	.382***	.404***	1.000	.448***	.468***	1.000

Note: Source: ESS5
Pearson's correlation coefficients; significance level: *** p < 0.001

Table 10: Correlations between procedural fairness items in Switzerland

	Respectful treatment	Fair decisions	Explanation of decisions
Respectful treatment	1.000	.501***	.399***
Fair decisions	.501***	1.000	.398***
Explanation of decisions	.399***	.398***	1.000

Note: Source: ESS5;
Pearson's correlation coefficients; significance level: *** p < 0.001

5.3.2 Independent Variable: Police Encounter

Two items in the ESS data allow checking for the influence of personal experiences on trust in police. The first item asks whether someone has been approached, stopped or contacted by police during the last two years preceding the survey. If someone had been in contact with the police, a five-point Likert-scale follow-up question took the level of satisfaction with the treatment received into account (one refers to very dissatisfied, five to very satisfied, Table 11). A first look at the frequency distribution shows that the police stopped people in Eastern Europe more often than in Western Europe (Table 12). Even lower rates of citizen-police encounters can be reported for Switzerland. Furthermore, the level of satisfaction with the police is the highest in Switzerland, with 67.2% reporting being either satisfied or very satisfied with how the police have treated them. The rate is even slightly higher when considering the Western European cluster (68%), while it is clearly lower in Eastern Europe (54.5%).

Table 11: Independent variables ESS5

Police encounter	*In the past 2 years, did the police in [country] approach you, stop you or make contact with you for any reason?*
Satisfaction with treatment	*How dissatisfied or satisfied were you with the way the police treated you the last time this happened?*

Note: Source: European Social Survey ESS5, 2010b

Table 12: Frequency distribution of independent variables ESS5 in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Switzerland

	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Switzerland
Police-initiated contact			
yes	69.1 (4,853)	61.9 (14,101)	42.9 (646)
no	30.9 (2,168)	38.1 (8,687)	56.9 (857)
Total	100.0 (7,022)	100.0 (22,788)	100.0 (1,503)
Don't know/no answer	0.5 (33)	0.5 (124)	0.2 (3)
Satisfaction with treatment			
Very dissatisfied	10.3 (223)	10.8 (936)	11.2 (72)
Dissatisfied	13.5 (292)	12.3 (1,069)	9.6 (62)
Neither/nor	21.2 (459)	11.1 (960)	12.0 (77)
Satisfied	45.1 (974)	40.8 (3,540)	41.9 (270)
Very satisfied	9.9 (214)	25.1 (2,179)	25.3 (163)
Total	100.0 (2,161)	100.0 (8,684)	100.0 (644)
Don't know/no answer/refusal	0.3 (21)	0.5 (124)	0.1 (2)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets

5.3.3 Explanatory Variables

5.3.3.1 Governmental Trust

The institutional perspective sees trust in the police as only one form of a wider governmental trust. It argues that the police are linked to other institutions and their performance rather than to the performance of police's own representatives. Hence, analyses often include a combined variable of institutional items. Nevertheless, studies show that there is indeed a difference between political and institutions issuing order (Rothstein & Stolle, 2002; Reuband, 2012). In the following, I will analyze whether such a differentiation of people's trust in governmental institutions can be found for Western and Eastern Europe as well and whether there is a difference between the two clusters.

In the European Social Survey ESS5, seven items of institutional trust allow us to check for possible similarities (Table 13).

Table 13: Explanatory variable of institutional trust ESS5

Institutional trust	*Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. Firstly…* *… [country]'s parliament?* *... the legal system?* *... the police?* *... politicians?* *... political parties?* *... the European Parliament?* *... the United Nations?*

Note: Source: European Social Survey ESS5, 2010b

A first look at the results reveals that, in Western Europe, all correlations for trust in the police with trust in other institutions are smaller than $r < .430$, with the

exception of trust in the legal system (*r* = .632). Coefficients are slightly higher for the Eastern European cluster, but still below .5, with the exception of the correlation between trust in the police and trust in the legal system (*r* = .642), meaning a large effect (Field, 2009, p. 170). It can be deduced that trust in the police may at least be combined with trust in the legal system, but is different from trust in political institutions, supporting the results found by Reuband (2012) and Rothstein and Stolle (2002). However, a principal component analysis of trust in political institutions—trust in the EU and in the UNO were not considered—reveals one strong factor for all governmental institutions, saying that, in Western European countries, trust in the police is not perceived distinctively from trust in other governmental institutions (Table 14). The same is true of the Eastern European cluster, where people evaluate governmental institutions holistically (Table 15). Despite this fact, the coefficients of the single factor clearly show that the factor loading is the lowest for trust in the police (.677/.700). Furthermore, scatterplots reveal that a second factor would be adequate (not shown here). Doing a re-analysis with two given factors, a distinction between political institutions and institutions issuing order is found, where trust in the police in particular loads highly on the second factor of institutions issuing order (.913/.915). As the Eigenvalues of the additional factor are smaller than 1 (.843/.768), their explanation force is weaker compared to any of the included items. Hence, they are inadequate. Nevertheless, as one factor explains only 66.7% in the West and as the Eigenvalue is close to 1, the two-factor model can be considered valuable for Western Europe[18]. Additionally, the explanation force of one factor is with 69.6% also low in the Eastern European sample but still larger than in the West. Moreover, the Eigenvalue of the additional factor is clearly lower than 1, at .768. The two-factor model will therefore be rejected. However, as the police are at the center of further analyses, and in order to facilitate comparisons with Western Europe in analyses for Eastern Europe, the police and political and legal institutions will also be included separately.

Table 14: Factor loading of institutional trust items for Western Europe

	Single Factor	Two-Factor Orthogonal Rotation	
	Government	Political Institution	Institutions Issuing Order
Trust in country's parliament	.849	**.802**	.338
Trust in politicians	.888	**.907**	.261
Trust in political parties	.864	**.910**	.215
Trust in the legal system	.789	.400	**.794**
Trust in the police	.677	.176	**.913**
Eigenvalue	3.336	3.336	.843
Total Variance (%)	66.710	66.710	16.851

Note: Source: ESS5; KMO = .790

[18] For more information on such exceptions, see Hirsig (2000, pp. 11.23).

Table 15: Factor loading of institutional trust items for Eastern Europe

	Single Factor	Two-Factor Orthogonal Rotation	
	Government	Political Institution	Institutions Issuing Order
Trust in country's parliament	.875	**.774**	.426
Trust in politicians	.893	**.913**	.271
Trust in political parties	.868	**.916**	.225
Trust in the legal system	.821	.446	**.774**
Trust in the police	.700	.189	**.915**
Eigenvalue	3.481	3.481	.768
Total Variance (%)	69.628	69.628	15.354

Note: Source: ESS5; KMO = .799

It can be concluded that, in Western Europe, trust in political and legal institutions might be considered the same, but a differentiation is not wrong. In Eastern Europe, they are more clearly perceived as similar, but still, results do not differ greatly from those in the West. Still, hypothesis 3, that political and legal institutions are perceived differently in the West while no distinction is made in the East, can be confirmed. The minimal difference between the two clusters might partly be explained by the exclusion of Ukraine and Russia, marked by very low levels of trust in the police. Analyses based on the sample before the exclusion of these two reveal an even clearer combination of these institutions in the East. It can be concluded that Middle Eastern European countries went through a transformation following the fall of the iron curtain, becoming more democratic, which leads people to perceive the institutions differently from each other. However, for further clarification, more research with regard to the conditions of the single countries would be needed. Additionally, trust in the police and trust in the legal system can clearly be combined in the West. This would be pointless, as in the following analyses the impact of encounters with the police on trust in and attitudes towards them are analyzed. Hence, only the single item of trust in the police will be used. However, the influence of trust in the legal system and trust in politics will be taken into account in final multiple regression analyses.

How about the situation in Switzerland? Certain institutions are viewed as more similar than others, such as the legal system and trust in the police. Conversely, trust in the police and trust in political parties correlate only weakly (Table 16). It can be deduced that trust in the police may be combined in an index, at least with trust in the legal system. However, a principal component analysis reveals only one strong factor for all governmental institutions, showing that all of the institutions can be combined in one trust-in-institution variable (Table 17). When considering a second factor, trust in political institutions (in the parliament, the politicians, and in political parties) splits from trust in institutions issuing order (the police and the legal system)[19]. The police

[19] As already seen in the analyses for the European clusters, the second factor can be taken into account despite its Eigenvalue <1, as its loading of .875 is close to 1. Furthermore, at 17%, it contributes largely to the explanation of the variance.

alone constitute a third factor, while trust in the legal system goes together with trust in the parliament. However, as the requirements for factor analyses are not met, extraction of a third factor would be inadequate (results not displayed here)[20].

Consistent with results of the Western European cluster, the Swiss population perceives institutions similarly when it comes to its trust in them, which is especially true for political institutions. Conversely, trust in institutions issuing orders differs, which confirms results from Rothstein and Stolle (2008), and shows that it is important to differentiate between institutions on the representational side and those on the implementation side.

Table 16: Correlations between institutional trust items for Switzerland

	Trust in…			
	Country's Parliament	Politicians	Political Parties	Legal System
Trust in the police	.406***	.427***	.330***	.614***

Note: Source: ESS5
Pearson's correlation coefficients
Significance levels: * 0.01 < p < 0.05, ** 0.001 < p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 17: Factor loading of institutional trust items for Switzerland

	Single Factor	Two-Factor Orthogonal Rotation	
	Government	Political Institutions	Institutions Issuing Order
Trust in country's parliament	.861	**.747**	.394
Trust in politicians	.832	**.876**	.273
Trust in political parties	.808	**.908**	.144
Trust in the legal system	.773	.348	**.816**
Trust in the police	.675	.164	**.895**
Eigenvalue	3.141	3.141	.875
Total variance (%)	62.828	62.828	17.492

Note: Source: ESS5; KMO = .776

5.3.3.2 Social Trust

The European Social Survey ESS5 contains a social trust scale of three items on an eleven-point scale (Table 18).

[20] The Eigenvalue is too small (.451). Moreover, the trust in the police item does not fulfil another requirement, the one of normal distribution (while all the other institutional trust items do). Therefore, all mentioned analyses were re-calculated with the log-transformed, trust-in-the-police variable. These results confirm the factors described in the text above with only very slight changes in factor loading.

Table 18: Explanatory variables of social trust ESS5

Generalized trust	*Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can´t be too careful in dealing with people?*
Trust in others' fairness	*Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?*
Trust in others' helpfulness	*Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?*

Note: Source: European Social Survey ESS5, 2010b

Elisabeth Neumann developed the first trust question measuring generalized trust in 1948. Since its implementation, the question has migrated from the American General Social Survey (GSS) to the World/European Values Survey (WVS) to the European Social Survey (ESS), just to mention the most popular ones. The responses are recorded either on a binary scale (GSS and WVS) or on an 11-point Likert scale (ESS) (Nannestad, 2008). Despite its wide use, huge debates are ongoing about the adequate measurement of trust. The first argument is about the wording of the generalized trust question, as it does not clarify whom trust is aimed at, in which situations, or under which circumstances (Delhey et al., 2011). Furthermore, ambiguous, culturally specific perceptions of the context might blur results. Consequently, possible influences of actual behavior, such as anxiety nourished by negative media coverage, should also be considered (Bjørnskov, 2007; Delhey et al., 2011). Additionally, the question seeks clarification on whether one- or two-part relations are meant (Hardin, 2002, p. 62). Moreover, one has to be aware that actual good feelings might provoke an affirmative answer. Unfortunately, with the question on hand, this cannot be tested. It would have been possible when using the binary outcome variable of the General Social Survey (see Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002). According to Yamagishi, Kikuchi, & Kosugi (1999), the two ends of the general trust question do not represent two opposites of a single meaning. The statement that most people can be trusted includes a few people someone may not trust. Moreover, studies of trust scales have shown that trust and need for prudence constitute two separate factors.

A second argument debates the comparability of the three questions. According to Uslaner (2002) for example, it is not adequate to use all three questions in testing the generalized trust level. The standard trust question does not ask the same as the question about whether most people would be fair or take advantage of one and whether most people would be helpful or just look out for themselves. Even if the multiple indicators of the same concept improve statistical reliability, there are crucial problems. Uslaner (2002) shows that the three questions do not measure the same thing: Saying people might be helpful is not the same thing as saying that someone trust strangers, and fairness is too ambiguous. In order to say someone is fair, more information about their values is needed, while you don´t need to say that someone shares your values, just to say that they might help you out. Moreover, according to

panel studies, the three questions don´t display the same time trend. Uslaner gave statistical evidence that fairness and helpfulness may be less stable over time than trust in people. Another point is that trust matters more for reaching out to people who are different from themselves than is the case with helpfulness or fairness. Smith (1997) shows in his examinations that the questions are answered differently when combined with certain topics. Trusting responses, for example, decline when the question is preceded by questions on crime and victimization. He concluded that the items are prone to context effects. However, several studies also indicate validity of the questions. Ciriolo (2007), for example, examined the reliability of responses to the trust question by comparing the country's levels of trust found in the fourth wave of the European Values Survey EVS, the World Value Survey WVS, and in the first round of the European Social Survey ESS. He reports a strong linear relationship (r = 0.93) between the measures of generalized trust in the two surveys. Furthermore, Uslaner (2002) shows that responses to the generalized trust question are stable over time.

Judging from the aforementioned studies, the questions nonetheless appear to be adequate for measuring social trust. A third point of criticism can be added, however: the use of the items across countries. In their analyses, Reeskens & Hooghe (2008) found that the three items are metrically but not factorially invariant. They conclude that it is not possible to compare the country-specific means on the latent generalized concept, saying the items should not be compared across countries. They show very high social trust levels in the Scandinavian countries, lower levels in the Catholic countries of Western and Central Europe, and the lowest levels in Southern Europe. Therefore, it must be agreed that trust levels differ between regions. Different understandings might also be possible within a country. For Switzerland, however, Freitag and Bauer (2013) show, that the meaning of generalized trust is the same for either the French-, Italian- or Germany-speaking region. One solution to Reeskens and Hooghes criticism is to use country clusters. A factor analysis (principal component) reveals one factor for both Western and Eastern European countries. Additional factors do not have Eigenvalues larger than one and are therefore inadequate. However, the model adequacy is only mediocre for both clusters. The combined social trust component explains only 67% of the variance in the Western European cluster (KMO = 0.667), while a slightly higher percentage can be reached in the Eastern European cluster (69%, KMO = .691). The individual items are significantly but only moderately strongly correlated in Western Europe, while in Eastern Europe generalized trust in particular is significantly highly related to general fairness (Table 19). Nevertheless, results of reliability analyses reveal that a combination of the three items into a scale of social trust is adequate for both Eastern and Western European countries (α = .762, α = .684, p<0.001).

Results for Switzerland are again similar to those in the Western European cluster, revealing one factor in a principal component analysis (KMO = .666). Pearson's correlations are slightly smaller (Table 20), so is Cronbach's Alpha (α = .669).

Table 19: Correlations between social trust items in Western and Eastern Europe

	Western Europe			Eastern Europe		
	Generalized trust	General fairness	General helpfulness	Generalized trust	General fairness	General helpfulness
Generalized trust	1.000	.446***	.406***	1.000	.563***	.497***
General fairness	.446***	1.000	.409***	.563***	1.000	.488***
General helpfulness	.406***	.409***	1.000	.497***	.488***	1.000

Note: Source: ESS5
Pearson's correlation coefficients; significance level: *** p < 0.001

Table 20: Correlations between social trust items in Switzerland

	Generalized trust	General fairness	General helpfulness
Generalized trust	1.000	.454***	.387***
General fairness	.454***	1.000	.471***
General helpfulness	.387***	.471***	1.000

Note: Source: ESS5
Pearson's correlation coefficients; significance level: *** p < 0.001

The space between the arguments for and against a combination of the items is slim. Results of reliability tests face criticism. As a compromise, a social trust index will only be used for macro level analyses. At the individual level, the items will be included individually first, testing their influence on trust in and attitudes towards the police. Later on, in final regression analyses, the combined item will be used, as socio-demographic and other variables are included in order to control for a possible different understanding of the notion of "other people" (Künzler, 2013).

5.3.4 Control Variables: Socio-Demographics

Questions found to be influential, see chapter 2.4.1.5: Individual Influences: Socio-Demographic and Other Factors, will be used in order to control for socio-demographics and other attributes such as going out. Their frequency distribution is shown in Table 21 and Table 22.

When looking at the distribution of interval-scaled control variables, in both samples of Western and Eastern Europe skewedness is only a problem for life satisfaction (-1.108/-.663) and years of full-time education completed (.686/.291, not shown here). The same is true for Switzerland (-1.435/1.225). The Kurtosis values are problematic in cases of political orientation, age, education, household income, and religiosity. Log transformations lead to lower levels of skewedness and lower kurtosis values in some but not all cases. Nonetheless, as the interpretation of transformed variables is more difficult, the aforementioned variables will mainly be used in a dichotomized form. For age, dummies were created, based on age categories recoded beforehand, with older than 60 years as the reference category. In addition, at least for Switzerland, the years of education completed will also be recoded in categories.

Table 21: Descriptive statistics of control variables ESS5 for Western and Eastern Europe

	Western Europe		*Eastern Europe*	
Control Variables (ESS)	Valid	Mean	Valid	Mean
Gender	100.0 (22,824)		100.0 (7,052)	
Male	48.5 (11,078)		46.7 (3,291)	
Female	51.5 (11,746)		53.3 (3,761)	
Age	100.0 (17,551)	47.4	100.0 (7,055)	46.0
14–25 years	16.4 (3,737)		18.6 (1,310)	
26–39 years	19.4 (4,420)		22.0 (1,554)	
40–59 years	36.4 (8,312)		34.1 (2,408)	
≥60 years	27.8 (6,354)		25.3 (1,783)	
Years of full-time education	100.0 (22,674)	12.9	100.0 (6,979)	12.4
Household income	100.0 (18,681)	5.5	100.0 (5,266)	5.3
low	49.6 (9,264)		52.6 (2,770)	
high	50.4 (9,417)		47.4 (2,496)	
Citizenship	100.0 (22,824)		100.0 (7,044)	
yes	94.0 (21,672)		99.4 (7,000)	
no	5.0 (1,152)		0.6 (44)	
Ethnic minority	100.0 (22,656)		100.0 (6,934)	
yes	5.4 (1,222)		95.5 (6,623)	
no	94.6 (21,434)		4.5 (312)	
Religiousness	100.0 (22,751)	4.3	100.0 (6,977)	5.2
low	66.5 (15,122)		52.3 (3,652)	
high	33.5 (7,629)		47.7 (3,325)	
Political orientation	100.0 (22,824)	4.9	100.0 (5,905)	5.5
left (dummy)	31.1 (7,095)		20.7 (1,462)	
moderate (dummy)	32.2 (7,350)		28.1 (1,984)	
right (dummy)	28.3 (6,452)		34.9 (2,459)	
Criminal victimization	100.0 (22,787)		100.0 (7,015)	
yes	17.3 (3,938)		11.8 (831)	
no	82.7 (18,849)		88.2 (6,184)	
Fear of crime	100.0 (22,671)		100.0 (6,930)	
very safe	30.1 (6,829)		19.0 (1,314)	
safe	47.9 (10,865)		57.0 (3,952)	
unsafe	16.9 (3,839)		20.0 (1,387)	
very unsafe	5.0 (1,138)		4.0 (276)	
Life satisfaction	100.0 (22,824)	7.2	100.0 (7,055)	6.4
low	21.4 (4,887)		34.2 (2,409)	
high	78.6 (17,936)		65.8 (4,645)	
Agglomeration type	100.0 (22,797)		100.0 (7,026)	
a big city	14.8 (3,371)		27.5 (1,930)	
suburbs/outskirts of big city	13.3 (3,037)		5.2 (363)	
town or small city	33.9 (7,731)		30.7 (2,159)	
country village	32.0 (7,305)		35.6 (2,502)	
farm/home in countryside	5.9 (1,355)		1.0 (72)	
Going out	100.0 (22,796)	2.8	100.0 (7,014)	
up to once a month	6.8 (1,543)		16.1 (1,129)	
once/several times a month	26.9 (6,124)		36.1 (2,531)	
once/several times a week	50.6 (11,538)		36.9 (2,592)	
every day	15.8 (3,591)		10.9 (762)	

Table 22: Descriptive statistics of control variables ESS5 for Switzerland

Control Variables (ESS)		Missing	Mean	Min.	Max.	Skew-ness	Kurtosis
Gender	100.0 (1,506)	0	1.5	1	2		
Male	51.3 (772)						
Female	48.7 (734)						
Age	100.0 (1,502)	4	47.6	15	96	.126	-.797
14–25 years	16.1 (243)						
26–39 years	17.9 (269)						
40–59 years	37.9 (571)						
≥60 years	28.1 (423)						
Years of full-time education	100.0 (1,499)	7	11.4	5	28	1.225	1.103
Household income[21]	100.0 (1,233)	273	5.7	1	10	-.043	-1.115
low	46.7 (576)						
high	53.3 (657)						
Citizenship	100.0 (1,506)	0					
yes	84.8 (1,277)						
no	15.2 (229)						
Ethnic minority	100.0 (1,502)	4					
yes	93.4 (1,403)						
no	6.6 (99)						
Religiousness	100.0 (1,500)	6	5.1	0	10	-.178	-.930
low	53.9 (808)						
high	46.1 (692)						
Political orientation	100.0 (1,424)	82	5.1	0	10	-.005	-.007
left (dummy)	29.7 (448)						
moderate (dummy)	30.8 (464)						
right (dummy)	34.0 (512)						
Criminal victimization	100.0 (1,502)	4					
yes	16.2 (243)						
no	83.8 (1,259)						
Fear of crime	100.0 (1,505)	1					
yes	14.3 (216)						
no	85.7 (1,290)						
Life satisfaction	100.0 (1,505)	1	8.1	0	10	-1.435	3.198
low	7.8 (113)						
high	2.2 (1,389)						
Agglomeration type	100.0 (1,506)	0		1	5		
a big city	9.9 (149)						
suburbs/outskirts of big city	9.8 (148)						
town or small city	23.0 (347)						
country village	52.7 (793)						
farm/home in countryside	4.6 (69)						
Going out	100.0 (1,506)	0		1	4		
up to once a month	4.3 (65)						
once/several times a month	23.8 (359)						
once/several times a week	59.0 (888)						
every day	12.9 (194)						

[21] Income categories are based on the Swiss Household Panel (Source: European Social Survey ESS5, 2010a). Due to the dichotomization of the variable, they are not listed individually.

Special attention needs to be given to items measuring well-being, understood here according to items of overall life satisfaction, fear of crime, and criminal victimization. While life satisfaction is queried on an eleven-point scale, fear of crime, as the feeling of safety when walking alone in local areas after dark, is based on a four-point Likert scale (1 = safe, 4 = very unsafe). In order to obtain information on people´s experience with crime, they were asked whether they were a victim of a crime during the last five years: *Have you or a member of your household been the victim of a burglary or assault in the last five years?* The question mixes an offence against property with an offence against personal integrity. As such, the explanatory power is weakened. In order to ascertain validity, results were compared with the outcome of the summarized questions of burglary and assault of the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) (Table 23). As for the year 2010, only data for six countries was available, results of older Crime Surveys were added, as well as results of the ESS round 4 from 2008. In order to ascertain changes in frequencies over the years, results of the European Sourcebook of Crime Statistics (Aebi & Killias, 2010) were also consulted.

Table 23: Comparison of victimization rates across countries, using different data sources

Country	ESS5 2010	[1]ICVS 2011	ESS4 2008	ICVS old[1]	Year of ICVS old	Difference[2]	Diff. 03-07 Sourcebook
Belgium	21.7	-	24.1	19.1	2000	+5.0	
Bulgaria	15.8	-	15.2	14.8	2004	+0.4	
Croatia	**4.6**	**-**	**6.1**	**12.8**	**2000**	**-6.7**	**+12.0**
Czech Republic	11.6	-	11.3	16.5	1996	-5.2	
Denmark	24.0	23.9	22.9	18.5	2000	+0.1	
Estonia	22.6	-	25.2	23.2	2004	+2.0	
Finland	27.1	**-**	**27.4**	**13.3**	**2000**	**+14.1**	**-13.0 (burglary)**
France	21.6	-	**24.9**	**14.6**	**2005**	**+10.3**	**+10.0**
Germany	**9.5**	**17.4**	**9.5**	**18.9**	**2005**	**-7.9**	**+8.0**
Hungary	**14.2**	**-**	**12.4**	**-**	**-**		**-26.0**
Ireland	12.3	-	17.4	22.2	2005	-4.8	
Lithuania	14.0	-	-	-	-	-	
Netherlands	18.0	17.7	18.8	19.1	2000	+0.3	
Norway	18.6	-	20.2	15.4	2004	+4.8	
Poland	10.7	-	14.9	14.8	2004	+0.1	
Slovakia	11.9	-	9.3	15.3	1997	-6.0	
Slovenia	9.2	-	11.4	11.4	2001	+0.0	
Sweden	**25.4**	**17.2**	24.2	17.0	2000	**+8.2**	**+10.0**
Switzerland	16.2	17.1	15.2	16.2	2005	-0.9	
United Kingdom	20.4	18.0	24.3	25.4	2000	+2.4	

Note: Percent of five-year prevalence rate
Only countries included in Western and Eastern European cluster plus Switzerland displayed
[1] Added victimization rates of burglary and assault
[2] Either numbers from ESS5 and ICVS2010 were compared, or the rates from ESS4 with those of older ICVS´s

The rates from ESS5 and those from ICVS 2011 are similar, with the exception of Germany, where the rates from the ESS5 are much lower than the ones from the Crime Survey (9.5% vs. 17.4%). Contrary to this, Sweden has higher rates in the ESS5 (25.4% vs. 17.2%). While comparing the ESS5 rates with the ones from ICVS 2005—where no newer data is available—divergences are found for Ireland. In the year 2005, the five-year prevalence rate for victims of burglary or assault was 22.2%. In the year 2011, the rate was only 12.3%. When going back even further, the rates differ in several countries. Due to such a large time period, an interpretation is difficult.

It can be concluded that the comparison of the ESS5 data and those of the ICVS 2011 brings to light large differences for Germany (-7.9%) and Sweden (+8.2%). Furthermore, when comparing ESS4 data with data from older Crime Surveys—those dating back in the 1990s were not taken into account—the country with a difference larger than ten per cent is Finland (+14.1%). Finally, no comparative data is available for Hungary.

Newer studies focusing on burglary show a clear declining trend for Finland since the year 2000 and in particular far lower rates compared to the other Nordic Countries such as Denmark and Sweden, which experienced sharp increases in burglary rates since 2005 (Sorensen, 2011). This downward trend is also confirmed by the European Sourcebook of Crime Statistics (-15% in domestic burglary, Aebi & Killias, 2010, p. 52, Table 1.2.1.19). However, the rates for assault also need to be considered, as the value in the ESS includes both burglary and assault. The rates in the Sourcebook show increasing trends between 2003 and 2007 for Finland (+17%), Ireland (+22%), and Sweden (+25%)[22] (Aebi & Killias, 2010, Table 3.2.1.5 p. 178).

[22] Rates for minor bodily injury are only displayed for a couple of countries. In Ireland, the rate increased +13% between 2003 and 2007.

6 Data Set II: Swiss Crime Survey 2011 (CS2011)

6.1 Background

International Crime Victim Surveys (ICVS) have been taking place since 1989 (van Dijk, Mayhew, & Killias, 1990). The Swiss Crime Survey served as a role model, because it was the first larger crime survey based on computer-supported interviews (Killias, 1989). In the years that followed—1996, 2000, and 2005—other ICVSs were conducted, in which Switzerland participated with larger samples. Therefore, each Swiss Crime Survey—with the exception of 1998—took place at the same time as and in coordination with the International Surveys. The situation was different in 2011, due to a restructuring of the ICVS through a pilot study by the European Union. In 2010, a re-launch took place with the goal of testing different methodological innovations, such as online interviews. Participating countries were Germany, England and Wales, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Canada. The idea was for Switzerland to participate analogous to earlier years, at the same time and in coordination with the ICVS. However, it soon became apparent that those responsible had shortened the questionnaire drastically. Therefore, Switzerland decided to do their survey independently, based on the original ICVS.

Even if comparisons with earlier waves of the ICVS as well as with the EU survey 2010 should be made with caution, the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 is very important. First, because it could ensure a continuation (no such survey had taken place since 2005). Second, the redesign of the national police crime statistics (KRISTA) in Switzerland in 2009 resulted in nearly impossible comparisons between preceding years and post-2009 years. Through the continuation of the surveys, the Swiss Crime Survey helps to fill this gap.

6.2 Methodology

6.2.1 Questionnaire

In order to guarantee the line of comparisons with other countries as well as with earlier surveys, the core questionnaire from the EU survey was adopted. However, due to the aforementioned large cut in questions in the EU questionnaire, it was decided that the survey should be expanded with questions thought to be important and included in earlier crime surveys. Furthermore, specific questions about attitudes towards and evaluation of the police were included, as the study was on behalf of the

Commission of the Swiss National Police Commanders (KKPKS). Finally, questions about life satisfaction and trust found their way into the survey as well.[23]

Only those people who reported having been a victim of a certain crime in the years 2009, 2010, and/or 2011 were asked some follow-up questions, such as whether they had reported the offence to the police, whether they were satisfied with the treatment of the case, and about further information policy. These questions always referred to the most recent incident within these three years.

The German questionnaire was translated into French and Italian. Moreover, certain questions were adapted to a Swiss High German style. Questions were translated into English for purposes of this thesis only.

6.2.2 Sampling

After the 1980s, computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) became the common interview technique for crime surveys. Consequently, a lively debate about the adequate method of surveys started in large parts of Europe. The outcome of this debate was that the interview technique is seen as having only marginal effects on the results. The design of the questionnaire and other modalities of the interview situation are more important (Killias, 1989, Rz 246). In the meantime, with the advent of mobile phones, the situation has changed greatly, which is why reassessment and reorientation were necessary. In addition to this new telecommunication situation, the rising distribution of personal computers and the broad coverage of internet access in private homes opened up new possibilities for reaching the targeted population. Due to the uneven distribution of internet and telephone access within the population, a combination of telephone and online interviews seems to be adequate for crime surveys. For Switzerland, with a high rate of internet access of 82%[24], a high number of online participation was expected.

The sampling was based on resident registers, which every community in Switzerland is required to keep[25]. Based on a method developed by the Institute of Sociology at the University of Bern (Jann, 2007), for the national sample, out of 318 communes representing the total Swiss population, a random sample of 199 was selected. In order to acquire the necessary information, such as names and addresses, we contacted the selected local governments. In some cantons, such as Basel, Geneva, and Schaffhausen, cantonal registers helped to reduce the requests, as those

[23] It was the idea of my colleague Sandro Iadanza to consider questions of individual and institutional trust. It is thanks to his insistence on the importance of such questions that they found their way into the survey. In addition to the question on institutional trust, we wanted to include the generalized trust question from the World Value Survey (WVS). Unfortunately, in the end, it could not be considered due to restrictions in the length of the questionnaire. This is very regrettable, as it would have offered further analyses for this thesis.

[24] Around 80% report using the internet several times a week (Bundesamt für Statistik BFS, 2013).

[25] Processes for a centralization of the registers are upcoming in the form of the project A1.12 “Meldung und Abwicklung Adressänderung, Wegzug, Zuzug”, which is part of the “Aktionsplan2012” from egovernment.ch. For more information: www.egovernment.ch.

responsible were able to provide us with addresses of all the selected respondents directly. Furthermore, this helped prevent difficulties experienced in some communities that refused to hand over the respected addresses.

A triple oversampling—asking the communes to send us three times the number of names as needed—guaranteed a sufficient number of persons to contact.[26] About two weeks before the start of the interviews, a letter was sent to the selected people, informing them of the research project and asking them to participate. Moreover, a link to a website was included, providing the possibility of filling out the questionnaire online[27]. Additionally, in a second letter, the police commander of the respective canton highlighted the importance of the survey, asking for participation.

In addition to the originally planned national sample of 2,000 interviews, the cantons were offered the opportunity to participate with additional surveys at their own cost. Furthermore, in order to enable comparisons between cities, the three major cities: Zurich, Winterthur, and Wädenswil, performed additional surveys. Subsequently, the city of Schaffhausen and the city of Neuchâtel decided to also participate as a communal subsample. In the end, the full sample consisted of more than 15,000 interviews (Table 24).

Table 24: Samples of CS2011

Level	Nr. of interviews	Region
National	2,035	Switzerland as a whole
Cantonal	500 each	Aargau, Bern, Fribourg, Neuchâtel, Solothurn, St. Gall, Zurich
Communal	500 each	Cities of Zürich, Wädenswil, Winterthur, Schaffhausen, Neuenburg; 17 communes in the Canton of Bern
Total	15,772	

Note: Certain communes at the communal and cantonal level were randomly selected at the national level as well. Therefore, the samples of such national communes were also used for the samples at the cantonal and/or the communal level, which explains the lower number of total interviews.

The following analyses are mainly based on the full sample of 15,772 respondents, weighted by gender and age. However, it will not be corrected for the slight overrepresentation of certain cantons, communes, and cities. As all regions of Switzerland, such as the French-, Italian- and German-speaking parts are included, as well as major cities and rural areas, no large effects are expected. In order to be able to compare results with earlier years, use of the national sample is required. Results will be indicated as stemming from national sample when needed.

[26] Due to the selection of the participants through community registers and not based on their telephone numbers as in earlier surveys, it is possible that several people from a single household participated in the survey.

[27] In a first step, we wrote to twice the number of person as interviews needed (3,000 persons in order to get 1,500 interviews). Since persons that had not participated online were contacted two weeks later by the market research institute gfs-zürich in order to do a telephone interview (CATI), the letter was only sent to people with a registered phone number.

6.2.3 Weight

The chosen sampling procedure was targeted at an equal distribution of regions and communes. Since the selection of participants from the communal registers was random, age and gender distribution was not controlled for. Therefore, in order to correct this bias, data needed to be weighted. In the current sample, age and gender distribution was taken into account. The following common distributions for gender and for age are used: 50%/50% for gender and 45% for age group 0–39 years, 35% for 40–64 years, and 20% for over 65.

The weighting procedure leads to the achieved distribution (Table 25 and Table 26). The effects of weighting are shown in Table 26: Whereas women were slightly overrepresented before, now there is an equal distribution between both sexes. The youngest and the middle-age group were overrepresented in the non-weighted sample and therefore weighted down, while the over 65-year-olds were weighted up. As previously mentioned, weights controlling for regional differences were not used.

Table 25: Sample before weighing age and gender

	Male	Female	Total
16–39 years	28.6 (2,148)	29.5 (2,436)	29.1 (4,584)
40–64 years	48.0 (3,609)	48.4 (3,994)	48.2 (7,603)
>65 years	23.4 (1,757)	22.1 (1,828)	22.7 (3,585)
Total	100.0 (7,514)	100.0 (8,258)	100.0 (15,772)

Note: Percent, number of cases in brackets

Table 26: Sample after weighing age and gender

	Male	Female	Total
16–39 years	45.0 (3,549)	45.0 (3,549)	45.0 (7,098)
40–64 years	35.0 (2,760)	35.0 (2,760)	35.0 (5,520)
>65 years	20.0 (1,577)	20.0 (1,577)	20.0 (3,154)
Total	100.0 (7,886)	100.0 (7,886)	100.0 (15,772)

Note: Percent, number of cases in brackets

6.2.4 Participation and Response Rates

More people filled out the questionnaire online than participated by telephone (Table 27). The proportion of online interviews (CAWI) is 56.4%, that of telephone interviews (CATI) is only 43.6%.

Table 27: Interview method according to age and gender

	16–39 years	40–64 years	>65 years	Male	Female	Total
CAWI	48.1 (4,277)	37.9 (3,371)	14.1 (1,251)	51.4 (4,572)	48.6 (4,327)	56.4 (8,899)
CATI	41.0 (2,820)	31.3 (2,149)	27.7 (1,904)	48.2 (3,314)	51.8 (3,559)	43.6 (6,873)
Total	100.0 (7,097)	100.0 (5,520)	100.0 (3,155)	100.0 (7,886)	100.0 (7,886)	100.0 (15,772)

Note: Percent, number of cases in brackets; weighted data

Results also show that the youngest people participate the most online (48.1%), as well as more men than women (51.4% vs. 48.2%). This might be caused by the broad use of smartphones by young people, enabling them to access the internet without restrictions as to time and space (Comparis.ch, 2012). The overall response rate is very high, at 59.7%.

6.2.5 Missing Values

Most of the questions offered an answer category *don´t know/no answer*. Depending on the questions and the goal of the analysis, the treatment of this category differs. On the one hand, the category is treated as missing, if only a couple of people chose the answer. On the other hand, if the number of people who choose this category is high, the influence on the percentages can be enormous. Therefore, when the number of missing answers is larger than 10%, the numbers are mentioned explicitly. Furthermore, in addition to the percentages, the number of cases is shown in brackets, which is especially important when they are low.

6.3 Operationalization

6.3.1 Dependent Variable: Trust in the Police

One question asking about institutional trust was included in the Swiss Crime Survey (Table 28). Several answers were possible (coded yes/no). The variable asking for trust in the police is treated as the dependent variable.

Table 28: Dependent variable CS2011

Institutional trust	*In which public institution do you trust?*
	…the government (Bundesrat)
	…the parliament
	…the police
	…the court
	…none of them
	…don´t know/no answer

6.3.2 Independent Variables

Victims of crime were asked if they had reported the offence to the police, and if yes, whether they were satisfied with the treatment they received. The question differs slightly from the one in the European Social Survey, as it asks about the treatment of the case rather than personal treatment. This question targeted the most recent incident within the last three years preceding the survey (2009–2011).

In addition to the questions about trust, several items cover the evaluation of the police work: police surveillance, help by the police, changes in the quality of police work, and police presence (Table 29). While the first two questions consider police work in a hometown, the others are about police work in general. The question about

how well the police are controlling crime in the area is termed *confidence in police work*, analogous to the variable in the European Social Survey ESS5.

Table 29: Attitudinal variables CS2011

Control of neighborhood crime (confidence in police work)	*Altogether, how good do you think the police in your area are at controlling crime? Do you think they do a very good job, a good job, a bad job, or a very bad job?*
Help and assistance by the police	*Do you think that the police in your community (your quarter) help people with their problems, listen to them, or do you think that they are only rarely there for the people?*
Change in quality of police work	*Have you perceived a change in the quality of police work during the last three years? If yes, how?*
Police presence	*Do you perceive the presence of police in public as sufficient or as insufficient?*
Change in police presence	*Have you perceived a change in police presence during the last three years?*
Time until arrival	*How long does it take until the police arrive after an emergency call on number 117? Do they arrive quickly or does it take too long?*

6.3.3 Control Variables: Socio-Demographics

According to the results of prior research (see chapter 2.4.1.5: Individual Influences: Socio-Demographic and Other Factors), several control variables, such as gender, age, education, income, ethnicity, and religion, will be considered, amongst others.

6.3.4 Descriptive Statistics

A brief description of some of the variables provides an initial overview of the two different samples used (Table 30, Table 31, and Table 32). A comparison of the frequency distributions shows that there is no large difference between the two samples. Amongst attitudinal variables, only confidence in police's work in the neighborhood is displayed here. Further frequency distributions will be displayed in chapter 13: Public Trust in the Swiss Police directly. The same is true for all variables concerning criminal victimization.

Table 30: Frequency distribution of dependent variable CS2011

Trust in the police	Full sample	National sample
no	27.3 (4,306)	26.1 (531)
yes	72.7 (11,466)	73.9 (1,504)
Total	100.0 (15,772)	100.0 (2,035)

Note: Percent, number of cases in brackets
Samples weighted by gender and age

Table 31: Frequency distribution of independent variable CS2011

Confidence in police work	Full sample	National sample
Very good job	14.5 (1,865)	16.2 (271)
Good job	71.3 (9,183)	72.2 (1,205)
Bad job	11.9 (1,528)	9.9 (165)
Very bad job	2.4 (311)	1.6 (27)
Total	100.0 (12,887)	100.0 (1,668)
Don't know/no answer	18.3 (2,885)	18.0 (367)

Note: Percent, number of cases in brackets
Samples weighted by gender and age

Table 32: Frequency distribution of control variables CS2011

Control Variables	Full sample	National sample
Gender		
Male	50.0 (7,886)	50.0 (1,017)
Female	50.0 (7,886)	50.0 (1,018)
Total	100.0 (15,772)	100.0 (2,035)
Age		
16–25 years	16.3 (2,578)	16.9 (343)
26–39 years	28.7 (4,519)	28.1 (572)
40–59 years	28.4 (4,484)	29.2 (594)
>60 years	26.6 (4,191)	25.8 (526)
Total	100.0 (15,772)	100.0 (2,035)
Last visited school		
Primary school	5.2 (812)	3.6 (72)
Secondary school	7.8 (1,212)	8.6 (174)
Vocational school	49.0 (7,636)	48.9 (986)
College	6.1 (945)	5.8 (117)
Univ. of applied science	19.1 (2,972)	18.3 (368)
University	12.9 (2,006)	14.8 (298)
Total	100.0 (15,584)	100.0 (2,016)
Don't know/no answer	1.2 (188)	0.9 (19)
Household income		
<2500.-	5.8 (785)	6.2 (107)
2500–5000.-	26.3 (3,539)	25.9 (449)
5000–7500.-	29.2 (3,928)	27.5 (476)
>7500.-	38.7 (5,205)	40.5 (702)
Total	100.0 (13,458)	100.0 (1,734)
Don't know/no answer	14.7 (2,314)	14.8 (301)
Residence status		
Swiss citizen	89.7 (14,121)	88.4 (1,794)
Residence permit (B)	2.2 (342)	2.7 (55)
Resident (C)	8.0 (1,255)	8.8 (179)
Others	0.2 (25)	0.1 (2)
Total	100.0 (15,743)	100.0 (2,030)
Don't know/no answer	0.2 (29)	0.2 (5)
Agglomeration type[1]		
core city	33.9 (5,344)	
agglomeration	37.7 (5,940)	
single city	3.8 (593)	
rural	24.2 (3,895)	
Total	100.0 (15,772)	

Note: Percent, number of cases in brackets
Samples weighted by gender and age
[1] Only calculated for the full sample, as not needed in analyses based on the national sample

6.4 Comparison of European Social Survey and Crime Survey Data

Two different sets of data are used for comparative analyses with Switzerland. While police-initiated contact will be analyzed based on ESS5 data, further analyses of victim-initiated contact will be based on data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. All data was weighted by gender and age, which leads to an equal distribution of the sexes in the Crime Survey 2011 and a nearly equal distribution in the ESS5 data. The same applies to the age groups. While the distribution is similar between the groups, in the ESS5 more people belong to the age groups of 40- to 59-year-olds[28]. Concerning amount of education, the ESS5 takes the number of years of full-time education completed into account, while the Crime Survey 2011 allows for differentiation between school levels in Switzerland. The ESS5 measures household income according to income level on a ten-point scale, therefore allowing analyses that are more detailed. The Crime Survey 2011 uses four monthly income groups, with the highest group representing a salary of 7,500 Swiss Francs or more per month. In the Swiss Crime Survey 2011, levels of residence status were differentiated, while the ESS5 only asked whether or not someone held Swiss citizenship.

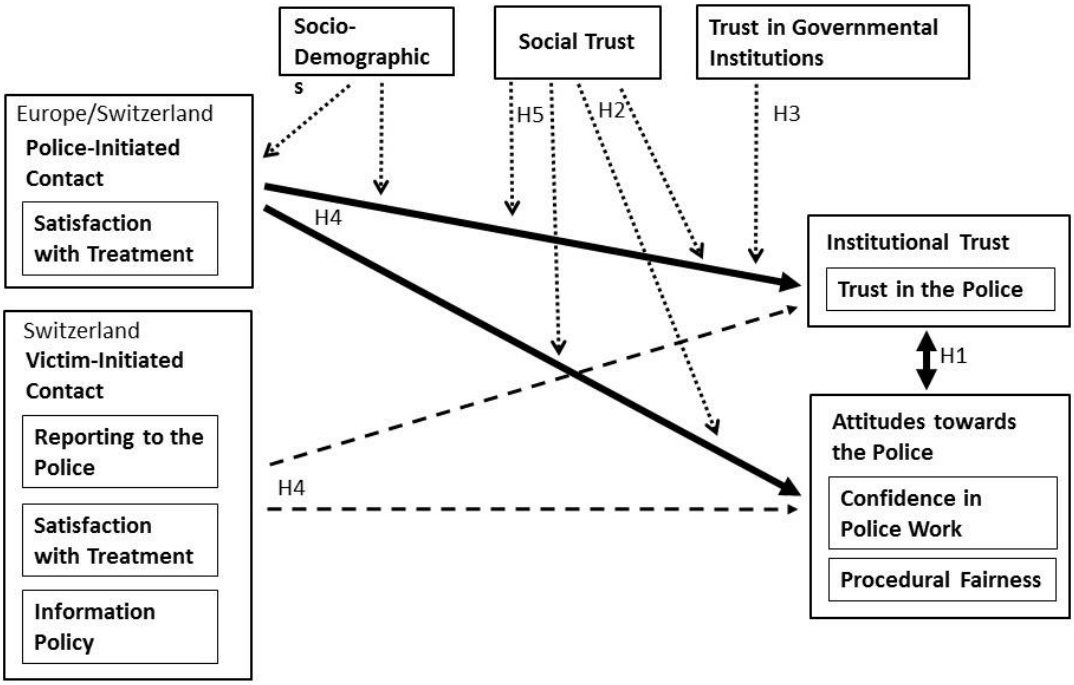
The level of those describing themselves as non-Swiss-citizen is higher in the ESS5 than in the Crime Survey 2011 (15.2% vs. 10.4%). A rather large difference is found amongst the frequencies for agglomeration types. While a majority report living rurally in the ESS5 (57.3%), the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 reports 71.6% living in a core city or its agglomeration. This discrepancy might be due to the enlarged sample. However, a look at the national data sample (representative for all regions due to the corresponding selection of interviewees, see chapter 6.2.2: Sampling) shows a similar distribution. Hence, the full data set can be seen as valid. In multiple regression analyses, dummies for agglomeration types will be entered in order to control for this imbalance. Finally, the level of religiosity was only asked in the ESS5, the same is true for political orientation. Both show a mean value around five.

[28] A comparison between the weighted and non-weighted ESS5 data shows that there is no change in the number of people within the age groups, which confirms that the design weight has no influence on age and need not be applied.

7 Empirical Model

Based on the preceding information about the data, the theoretical model was enlarged into an empirical model, showing which analyses are possible with the data on hand (Figure 10). While the additional data for the case study of Switzerland allows testing for several attitudinal variables, in the analyses at the European level, the focus is on procedural fairness and on confidence in police work.

Figure 10: Empirical model of trust in the police



PART III – EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

8 Introduction

Trust in the police is linked to their procedural fairness and effectiveness. Moreover, interactions with police officers are important in establishing their trustworthiness. Finally, cultural aspects of social trust shape people's perceptions of the police and their evaluation of police encounters. In order to test the hypotheses formulated, correlation at the macro level will be elaborated on in a first step. I will test whether a linearity of trust in and attitudes towards the police exists across countries or if country patterns can be found. As already mentioned in Part II– Methodology, results reveal two country clusters consisting of Eastern and Western European countries. More information is given here about the selection process. For better visibility, scatters are based on adjusted scales rather than on the original ones. Nevertheless, in order to understand the relationships in full context, original scales are mentioned.

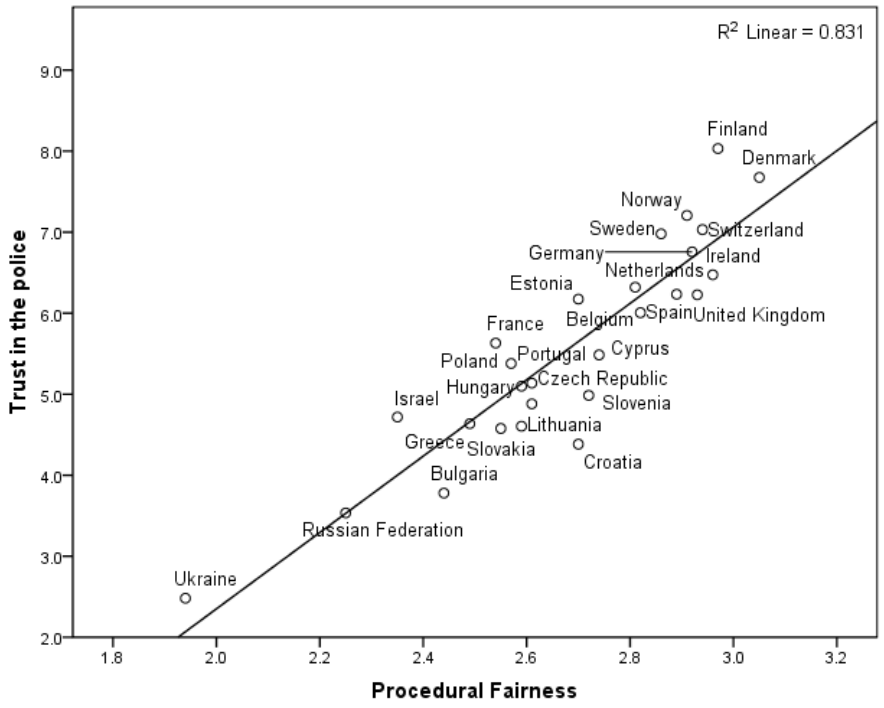
Analyses that follow at the individual level first show the distribution of trust and attitudes across selected countries. Then, the impact of governmental trust will be tested. Afterwards, encounters will be analyzed more carefully, considering the impact of satisfaction with the encounter on trust in and attitudes towards the police. Moreover, the impact of social trust between groups of people being stopped by the police and those without such an experience will be analyzed. Finally, in final regression analyses, socio-demographic and other control variables are taken into account.

9 Macro Level Patterns of Trust in the Police

9.1 Procedural Fairness, Effectiveness, and Their Relationship to Trust

Theories of procedural justice argue that trust in the police is established by confidence in police's procedural fairness (Tyler, 2001; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Jackson & Bradford, 2010). Results of macro level analyses confirm this. The scatterplot clearly shows a linear relationship between procedural fairness based on the three items of respectful treatment, fair decisions, and explanation of decisions and trust in the police (Figure 11). Statistical tests confirm that the correlation is highly significant (R^2 = .831, r_s = .883, p < 0.001).

Figure 11: Linear relationship between police's procedural fairness (scale 1–4) and trust in them (scale 0–10)

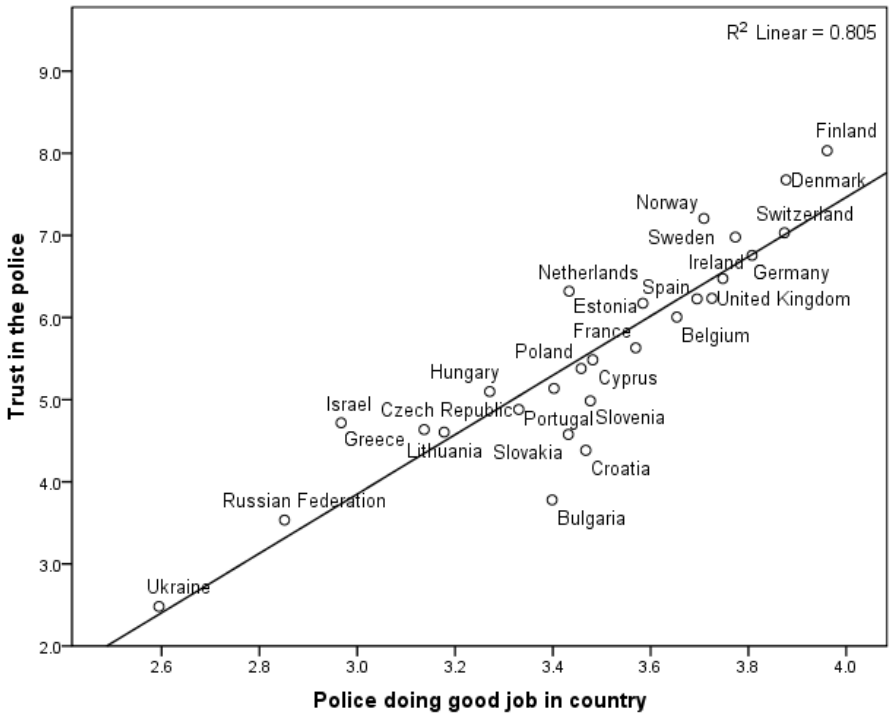


While Western European countries are marked by high levels of trust in the police and trust in police's procedural fairness, Eastern European countries have lower levels of trust, perceiving their police as treating people less respectfully and making unfair decisions. Amongst countries with high levels of procedural fairness, Finland clearly ranks above the regression line. Within the countries marked by lower levels of fair procedures, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bulgaria clearly rank below the regression line. Due to their low levels of trust in the police and confidence in procedural fairness, Ukraine and Russia have rather extreme positions. While France shows a pattern of low levels of trust in the police paired with a low level of procedural fairness, ranking therefore within the Eastern European/Mediterranean country group, Estonia is on the top end

of this group with moderate trust in the police and a moderate rank for procedural fairness. While France ranges within Eastern European countries, Estonia scatters above them.

Countries cluster in a similar way as above when using confidence in the work of the police instead of trust in procedural fairness (R^2 = .805, r_s = .761, p < 0.001, Figure 12). Especially countries in Western Europe scatter close to the regression line, while Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, and Portugal clearly scatter below it. As above, Switzerland figures within the group of Scandinavian countries, with a higher level of confidence in the police compared to Sweden and Norway. Germany also belongs to this high-trust/high-confidence group. Furthermore, the position of the Netherlands attracts attention. The evaluation of police work by people in the Netherlands is about the same as in Eastern European countries and therefore lower compared to the other Western European countries. Again, Estonia ranks higher than France does. However, a look at the scaling relativizes these differences. While 1 means the police are seen as doing a very bad job in the country, 5 means they are doing a very good job. The scatter plot reveals that all countries except Israel, Ukraine, and Russia are settled between 3 and 4 on the scale, meaning that the police work is either evaluated as neither good nor bad (3), or as good (4). Hence, the differences described are happening only within this small range.

Figure 12: Linear relationship between confidence in police work (scale 1–5) and trust in the police (scale 0–10)



Trust in the police correlates positively with trust in police's procedural fairness as well as with confidence in their work, which confirms assumption 1. Even if this is true for all European countries included in the analyses, the linear relationship is stronger for high-trust countries. Conversely, the variance is larger for countries located at the lower end of the trust-in-the-police scale that are mainly from Eastern Europe or the Mediterranean region. Russia and Ukraine are marked by very low levels of trust in and attitudes towards the police. Thus, they will be excluded from further analyses. Furthermore, no clear patterns can be found for the Mediterranean countries of Spain, Portugal, Cyprus, Greece, and Israel. In adjusted scatter plots without the Mediterranean countries and without Russia and the Ukraine, the differences between high and low trust countries become more visible (Figure 13; r_s = .884 p < 0.001, Figure 14; r_s = .852, p < 0.001).

Figure 13: Linear relationship between police's procedural fairness (scale 1–4) and trust in them (scale 0–10)

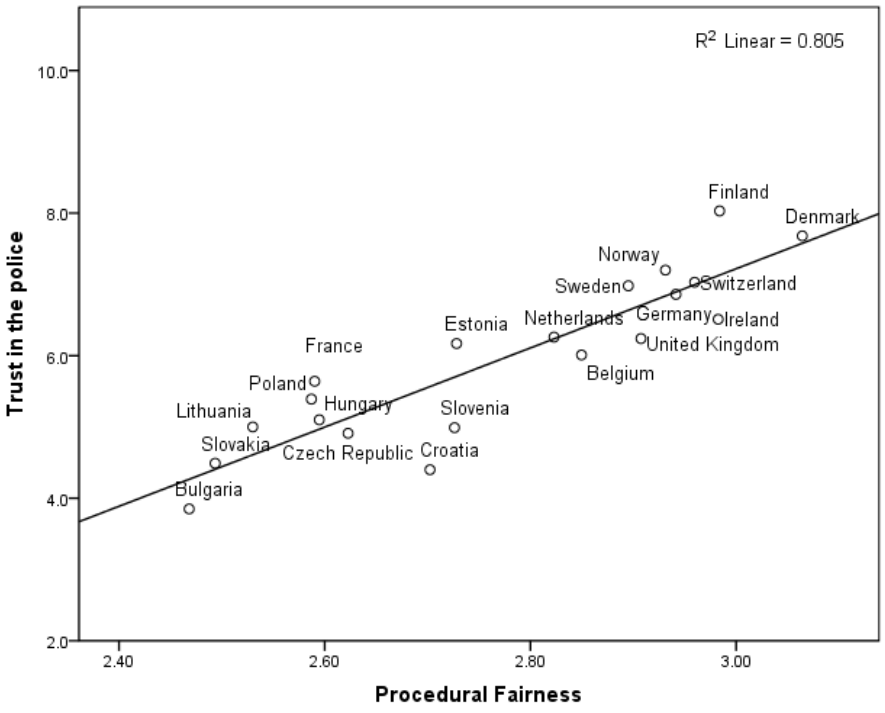
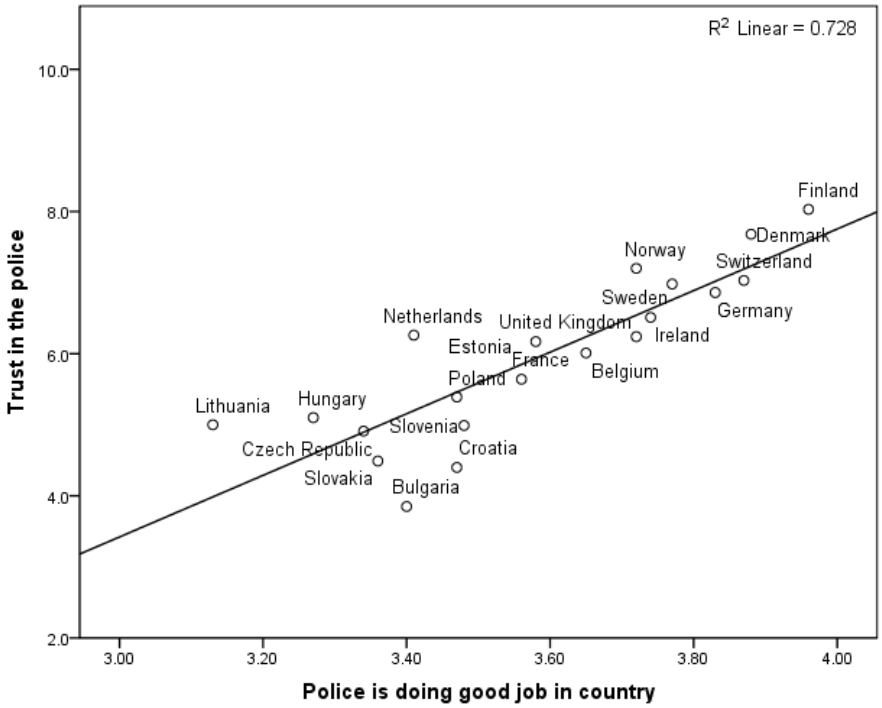


Figure 14: Linear relationship between confidence in police work (scale 1–5) and trust in the police (scale 0–10)



9.2 The Impact of Social Trust

Before considering encounters at the individual level, a direct impact of social trust on trust in and attitudes towards the police will be elaborated on at the aggregated level. Results show that social trust correlates statistically significantly with trust in the police. Countries marked by a high level of social trust show a higher trust in the police than low-trust countries (r_s = .931, p < 0.001, Figure 15). The model explains 87% of the variance of trust in the police. With the exception of Bulgaria, which ranks outside the group of Eastern European countries, and excepting France and Estonia, a distinction between East and West becomes visible. As already seen above, countries marked by a high social trust are Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland, as well as the four Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. On the other hand, the Eastern European countries of Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria make up the second group of low-trust countries. France, on the one hand, is not only marked by lower trust in the police compared to other Western European countries, but also by lower social trust. Estonia, on the other hand, groups within the Western European countries.

Confidence in the work of the police and trust in their procedural fairness clearly relate to an overall institutional trust in the police, as seen in the theoretical part. Hence, the relationship between these two items with social trust will be elaborated on as well. Results have already confirmed that social trust correlates clearly with trust

in the police. This correlation is also evident for trust in police's procedural fairness, as shown in Figure 16. The scatterplot reveals that the linearity is very good, especially for countries with higher levels of social trust, while the variance is larger amongst countries with low levels of trust in the police as well as lower levels of social trust. Amongst Eastern European countries, Slovenia, and Croatia have better opinions of police's procedural fairness compared to other countries. As for trust in the police, Bulgaria stands out, showing lower levels of trust in police procedural fairness as well as lower social trust. The grouping of Western European countries is similar as in the scatterplot for trust in the police and social trust. All of them have a similar level of trust in police's procedural fairness, while the variance is larger for their social trust. Germany and Ireland scatter clearly above the regression line. The overall validity of this model is slightly weaker than above (R^2 = .706, r_s = .603, p < 0.001).

Comparing the relationship between confidence in police work and social trust, results show a clearly weaker correlation than those found for trust in the police and procedural fairness (R^2 = .502, r_s = .718, p < 0.001, Figure 17). Even though the two clusters of Western and Eastern European countries are also visible in this scatter, linearity is weaker. Within Eastern Europe, Lithuania, Hungary, and the Czech Republic have clearly lower levels of confidence in police work compared to other countries within this cluster. Within Western Europe, Germany, Switzerland, and Finland scatter above the regression line. Furthermore, the Netherlands stands out again, as seen in the preceding chapter.

Figure 15: Linear relationship between social trust and trust in the police (both scale 0–10)

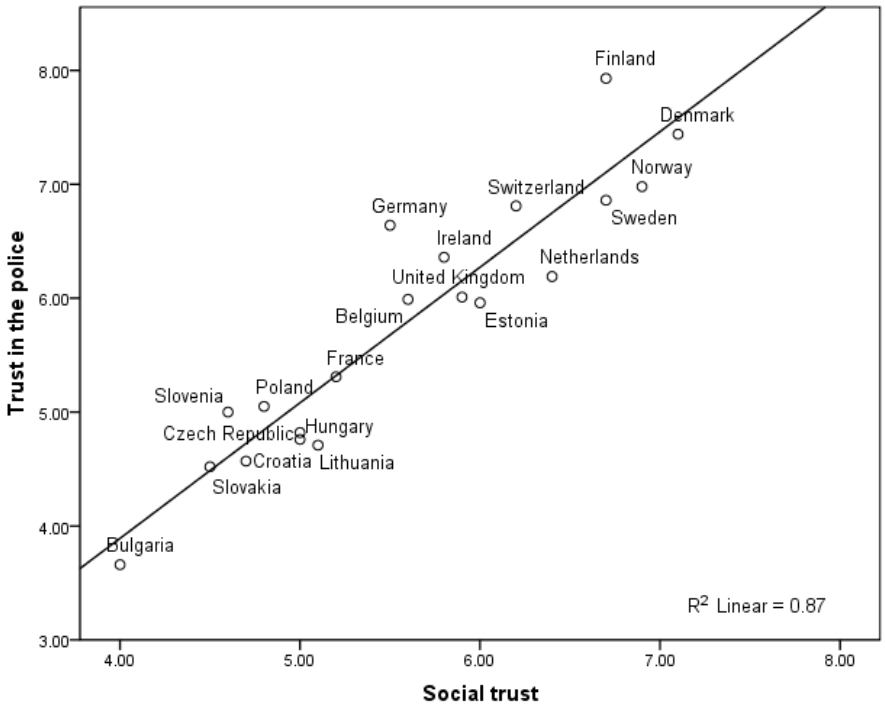


Figure 16: Linear relationship between social trust (scale 0–10) and police's procedural fairness (scale 1–4)

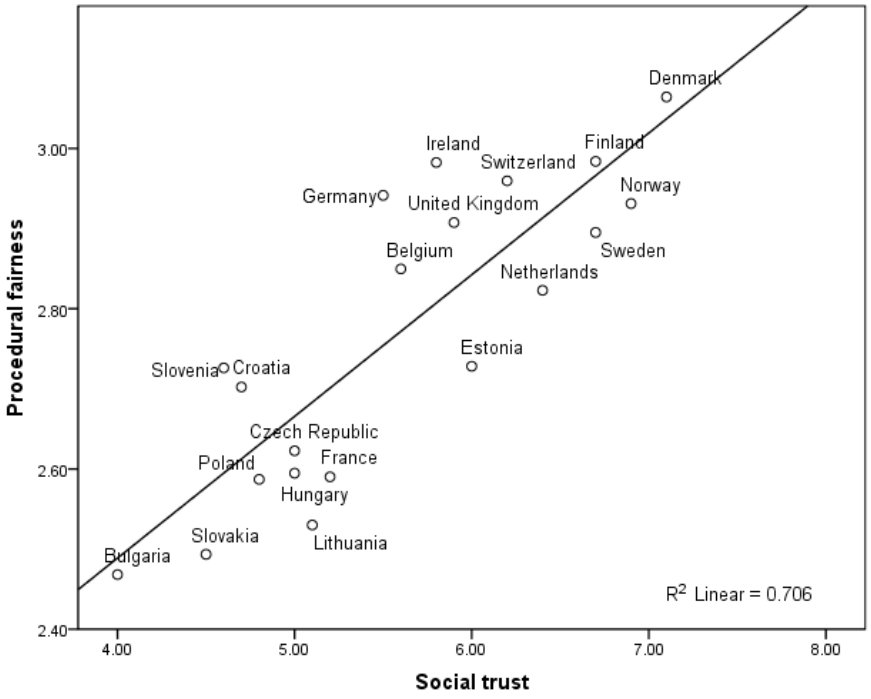
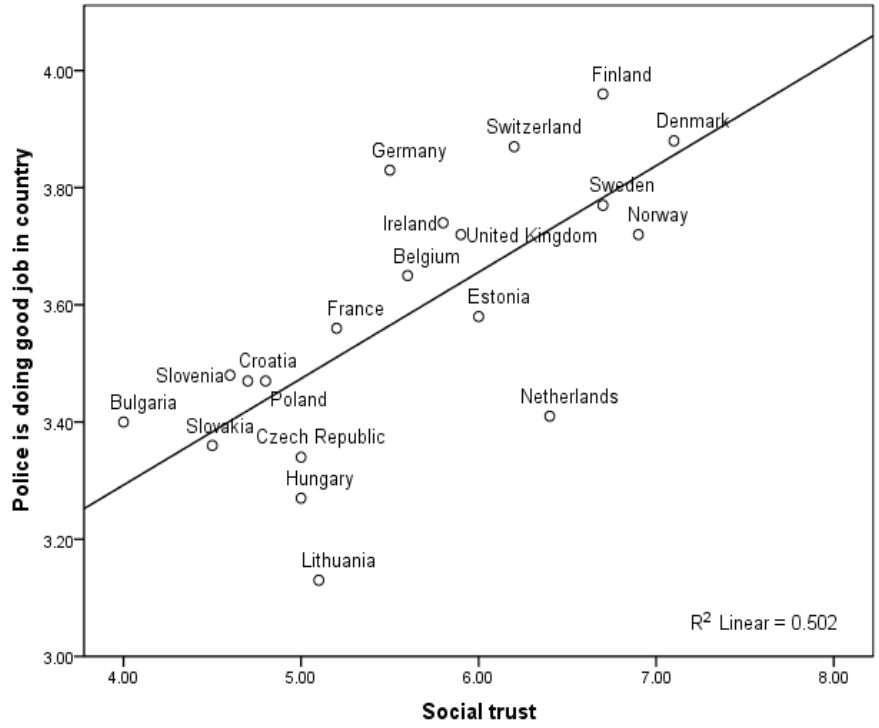


Figure 17: Linear relationship between social trust (scale 0–10) and confidence in police work (scale 1–5)



To summarize, social trust correlates significantly with trust in the police. The correlation is also significant for trust and procedural fairness, as well as for confidence in police work. However, these two items for attitudes towards the police correlate less strongly with social trust. In either relationship, two clusters became visible. While

cluster one consists of Western European countries marked by high levels of trust in and attitudes towards the police, as well as high levels of social trust, Eastern European countries rank on the lower end, marked by low levels of social trust, trust in and attitudes towards the police. Results confirm hypotheses 2.2 up to 2.4: the higher a society's social trust, the higher their trust and confidence in the police, as well as their trust in police's procedural fairness. Moreover, social trust is higher in Western Europe than in the East (hypothesis 2.1). However, it is important to note that all of the mentioned scatterplots at the aggregated level are based on the combined social trust item, not taking into account the critiques listed in chapter 5.3.3.2: Social Trust. Since the aim of these analyses was to give a first insight into possible correlations between social trust and trust in and attitudes towards the police at a country level, searching for country clusters, such a reduction in force of expression should be fine. Still, in further analyses at the individual level, the single items of social trust will be included.

10 Trust in the Police at the Individual Level

10.1 Introduction

So far, at the national level, a linear relationship was found between trust in the police and social trust, on the one hand, and with perceived fairness, on the other hand. In a next step, correlations at the individual level will be elaborated on, with one focus: the impact of satisfaction with a police encounter, testing the asymmetry hypothesis. Furthermore, I will test whether social trust explains differences in trust in the police and perceptions of police encounters amongst Western and Eastern European countries. Finally, socio-demographic factors will also be considered.

10.2 Distribution across Western and Eastern Europe

There is a wide range in the mean value of trust in the police amongst the selected Western and Eastern European countries, as already seen in the scatterplots in the chapters above. Result reveal the highest trust levels for the four Scandinavian countries (Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), together with Switzerland, all having a trust in the police higher than 7 on the eleven-point scale. Former post-soviet countries, such as Bulgaria and Croatia, range on the lower end of the scale. The overall mean trust in the police of 5.9 groups the countries not only into Eastern and Western European categories, but also in countries marked by a high or low trust in the police, i.e. with a position on the trust scale smaller or larger than six.

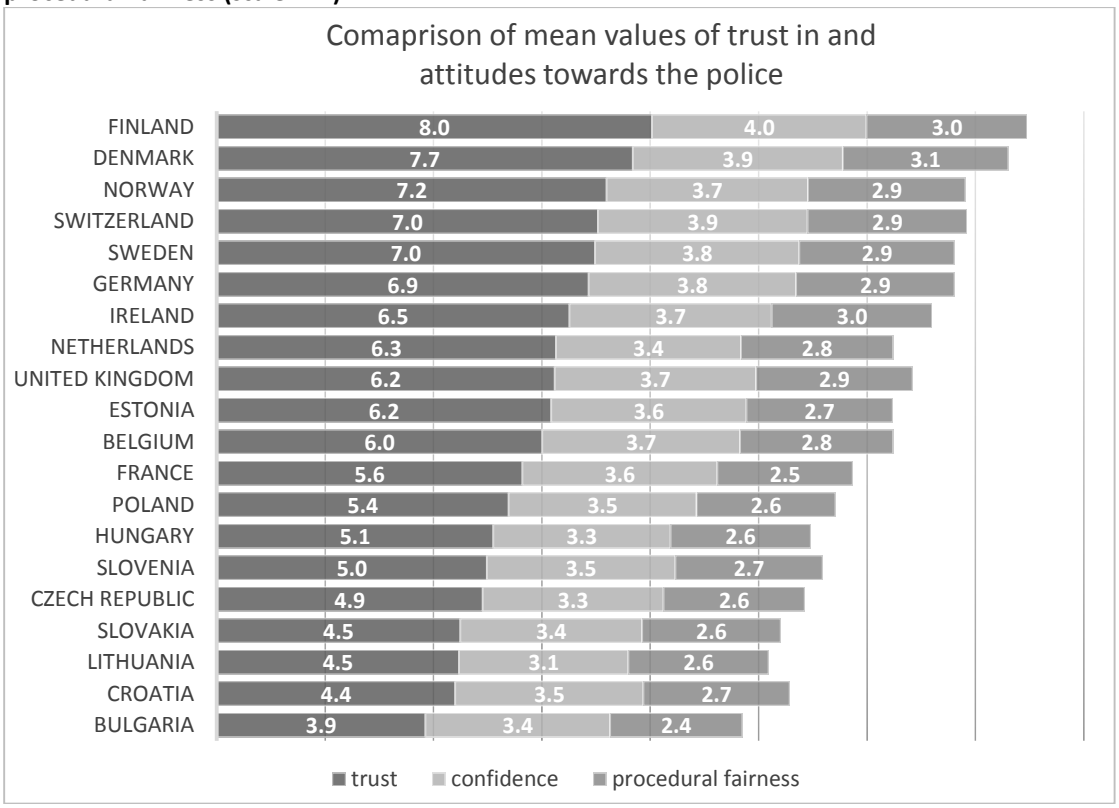
The distribution of procedural fairness across countries is similar: All Western European countries have a mean level of 3 or higher, meaning the police often treat people in the country with respect, make fair decisions, and explain these decisions. Again, the division in countries marked by high and low trust in police's procedural fairness passes the separation between Western and Eastern Europe. However, due to the four-point scale, the variance is rather small here; also a rating of 2 (=not very often) is not too bad. As all countries, except Bulgaria, have a mean value of procedural fairness larger than 2.5, it can be concluded that the police are viewed as being fair in Eastern Europe as well, even though it is less often than in the West.

The mean level of confidence in the work of police, based on the question of how well the police are performing their job in the country, is midfield. All countries range between 3 *neither good nor bad job* and 4 *good job*, with the exception of Finland, Switzerland, and Denmark, where the police are clearly viewed as doing a good job. Even though the differences between the countries are again small, it must be noted that the four Scandinavian countries are not grouped together. Finland and Denmark are on the top end, but Sweden and Norway rank below Switzerland and Germany. Again, all Eastern European countries rank below the overall mean level of 3.6.

Contrary to the results above, the Netherlands are also listed within this group, with a mean confidence level of 3.4.

When putting all three variables in one figure, the slightly different ranges of trust, confidence, and procedural fairness between countries becomes more visible (Figure 18). Rates of confidence in the work of police, in particular, differ from trust in the police: High trust in the police does not necessarily mean that the evaluation of the work of the police is very good, and vice versa. Within Western Europe, Norway's and the Netherland's confidence in the work of the police is lower compared to their rank of trust in the police. Amongst Eastern European countries, the same is true for Hungary, while Croatia and Bulgaria have a higher confidence level compared to their trust in the police rank. Estonia ranks higher than Belgium and France due to its higher level of trust in the police. Contrary to these variations, countries rank similarly according to trust in the police and people's opinion of police's procedural fairness. Nevertheless, for all trust and attitudinal items, Western European countries rank at the top of the scale, while those of Eastern Europe are at the bottom, with the exception of Estonia. Hence, for the analyses that follow, the selected countries will be combined in two clusters, one for Western and one for Eastern European countries.

Figure 18: Mean levels of trust (scale 0–10) and confidence (scale 1–5) in the police, and trust in their procedural fairness (scale 1–4)



In literature, procedural fairness and effectiveness of the police are considered elements that make up trust in them. Therefore, the overall trust-in-the-police variable is only seldom used as the dependent variable in analyses. Rather, an index combining

concepts of overall trust, procedural fairness, and effectiveness is used (see Jackson et al., 2012 for example). Hence, in the following, the relation between the three items is evaluated more closely at the individual level. As already shown at the macro level, trust in the police correlates significantly to confidence in the work of the police across countries, as well as to trust in their procedural fairness. Results at the individual level confirm such significant correlations. However, the outcome is different. At the country level, the correlation between trust in the police and in their procedural fairness is higher compared to trust and confidence in the police. At the individual level, the correlation is highest for confidence in the work of the police and trust in them (r_s = .451 in the West and r_s = .482 in the East), while it is smaller for procedural fairness and trust in the police, more evident in Western Europe (r_s = .383, r_s = .417). The difference might be caused by the separation of Western and Eastern European countries at the individual level. Furthermore, this smaller correlation for trust and procedural fairness in the police might be caused by different public perception. Fair decisions, respectful treatment, and the explanation of decisions clearly point to the behavior of police officers as part of the organizational body, while confidence in the work of the police might point to institutional duties. Trust in the police is expected to relate to the institutional level rather than to organizational factors. Whether the police are perceived as part of the wider government here, or if people's perception of trust in the police differs from trust in political institution, will be analyzed in the next chapter. Before that, the influence of both trust and attitudinal items are analyzed together in a first linear regression analysis. Results confirm the linear relationship of trust, confidence, and procedural fairness across countries. In both clusters, confidence in the work of the police and trust in their procedural fairness have a strong positive impact on trust in them (Table 33). With every step on the five-point scale of how good the police are doing their job in the country, the mean trust in the police rises 13.5% in the West and 12.5% in the East. Estimations about the procedural fairness of the police show the same pattern, although the positive impact on trust in their work is lower. In addition, the differences between Western and Eastern Europe are smaller, which can be seen in the difference in the Beta (β) values.

Table 33: Impact of attitudes towards the police on trust in them (linear multivariate regressions)

	Western Europe			Eastern Europe		
	B	β	t	B	β	t
(Constant)	-1.521		-14.756	-1.703		-11.043
Confidence in police work	1.352***	.426	57.787	1.255***	.388	28.997
Procedural fairness	1.095***	.241	33.066	1.061***	.242	18.150
R^2	.362			.333		

Note: Coefficients of OLS-regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
In order to control for country differences within the clusters, country dummies are included in both regressions, but not shown here
Significance level: *** p < 0.001

Rather than combine the three items of trust in and attitudes towards the police, they will be treated as dependent variables in the following analyses. However, due to scaling, only trust in the police will be used as the dependent variable in multiple regression analyses.

10.3 The Police as an Extended Arm of the Government

The institutional perspective sees trust in the police as only one form of a wider governmental trust. It argues that the police are linked to other institutions and their performance rather than to the performance of their representatives. Hence, analyses often include a combined index of institutional items. Nevertheless, studies have shown that there is indeed a difference between political institutions and institutions issuing order (Rothstein & Stolle, 2002; Reuband, 2012). Before continuing with analyses at the individual level, taking the influence of police encounter on trust in and attitudes towards the police into account, I will analyze whether such a differentiation of people's trust in governmental institutions is found and whether there is a difference between Western and Eastern Europe. Trust in the police is statistically significantly correlated to trust in politics and trust in the legal system. The correlation with trust in the legal system is slightly stronger in the Western European cluster than in Eastern Europe (r_s = .522, r_s = .488), while the differences for political trust are negligible (r_s=.463, r_s = .416). Linear regression analyses considering attitudinal and institutional items confirm the strong link between trust in the legal system and trust in the police in both Western and Eastern Europe (B = .508, B = .555, Table 34).

Table 34: Impact of governmental trust on trust in the police (linear multivariate regressions)

	Western Europe		Eastern Europe	
	B	β	B	β
(Constant)	2.540		2.570	
Trust in politics	.153***	.140	.170***	.140
Trust in legal system	.508***	.535	.555***	.545
R^2	.432		.543	
N	21,811		6,513	

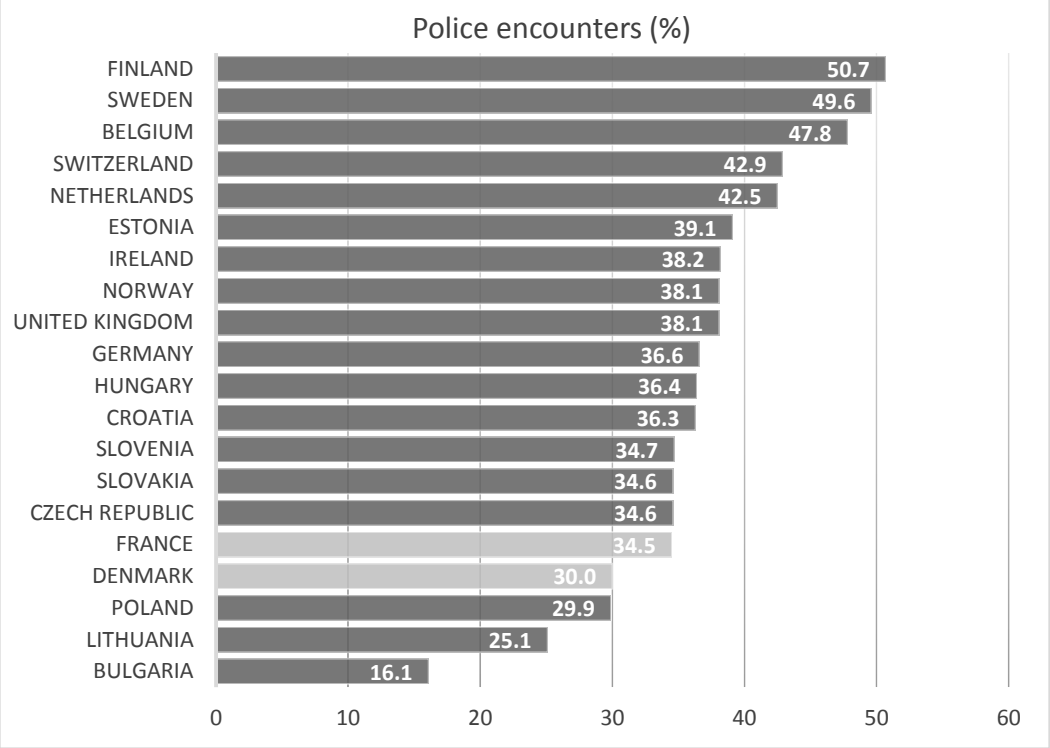
Note: Source: ESS5, coefficients of OLS-regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
With country dummies (not shown here)
Significance level: *** $p < 0.001$

Overall, differences between Western and Eastern Europe are marginal. Trust in politics and in the legal system matters slightly more in Eastern Europe. Results confirm hypothesis 3.1: that the higher the trust in political and legal institutions is, the higher the trust in the police.

10.4 Police-Initiated Contact

There are large differences between the countries concerning the amount of contact citizens had with the police (Figure 19). While in Finland approximately every other person affirms *having been approached, stopped, or contacted by the police during the last two years* preceding the survey, in Bulgaria and Lithuania it was less than every fourth person. Finland ranges on the top end together with Sweden (49.6%) and Belgium (47.8%). Switzerland (42.9%) and the Netherlands (42.5%) are still above the 40% mark. Amongst the Scandinavian countries, Denmark can be considered an outlier, with only 30% police encounters. It differs especially from Finland and Sweden, where about every second interviewee has been in contact with the police. Norway lies somewhere in between, with 38.1% encounter.

Figure 19: Percentage of police-initiated contact in Western and Eastern European countries



It might be argued that the number of encounters is influenced by the total number of police officers in a country. A comparison with the statistics in the European Sourcebook reveals that this is probably not the case. The high number of encounters in Finland and Sweden are faced by low numbers of officers. Both countries have less than 200 officers per 100,000 population, while the number in Belgium is 300–399. The low amount of encounters in Poland stands opposite the rate of 200–299 officers per 100,000 population (Aebi & Killias, 2010, p. 36). Since these numbers are from 2007 only, nothing can be said about the current numbers. Moreover, only certain countries are included in this corrected statistic of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (civilian officers were excluded). A look at the annual

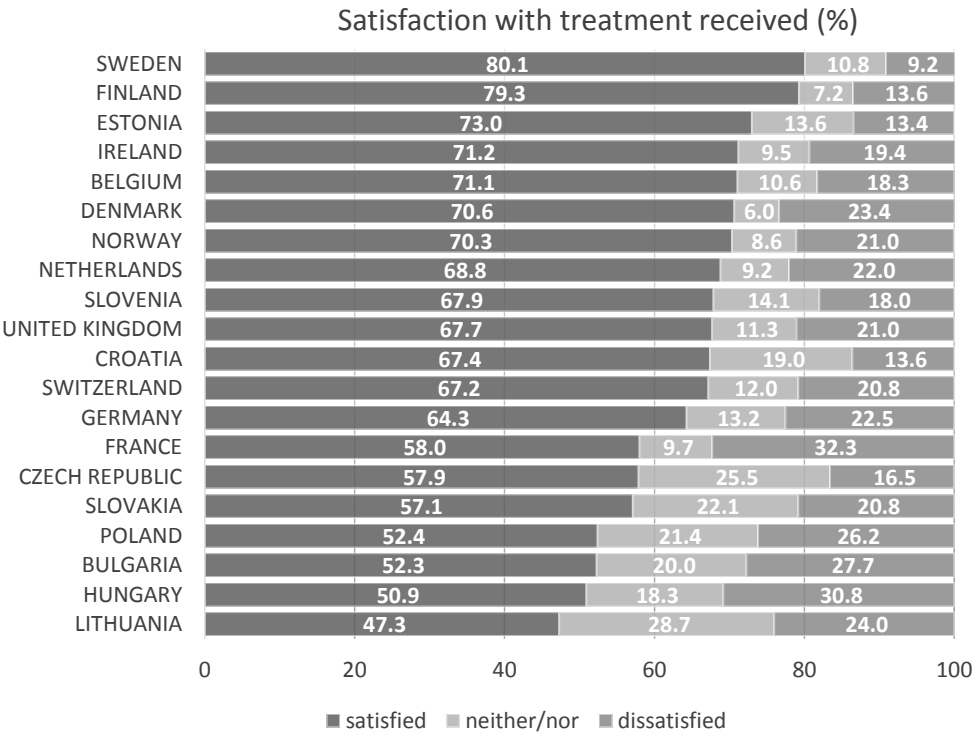
rates between 2003 and 2006 shows that Denmark has around 180 officers per 100,000 population, which is more than Finland (around 155) but less than Sweden (around 190). The low number of encounters in Denmark, however, clearly contrasts with the number of officers. Of course, such comparisons must be drawn cautiously, as a rough overall number says nothing about the distribution of the officers across the departments. Nevertheless, the number of officers per country is a topic that is brought up regularly, as a shortage of police officers is linked to low police presence. Moreover, additional services affect the private life of officers and are paired with dissatisfaction (Mohler, 2013). Such stressors eventually lead to distinct behavior in the sense of inappropriate performance in interactions with citizens (Manzoni, 2003).

A lot of actions and interactions might happen during a police stop, influencing citizens' opinion of the police. Unfortunately, data does not provide further information on the circumstances of encounters but allows for a closer look at the satisfaction level of stopped people.

10.4.1 Satisfaction with Treatment Received

Before presenting results of the analyses of the influence of satisfaction with the police on trust in them, an overview of the satisfaction levels is given. As seen in Figure 20, Sweden and Finland show the highest levels of satisfaction with about 80% of the contacted people reporting satisfaction with how they were treated by the police.

Figure 20: Percentage of satisfaction with treatment received by the police in an encounter



The lowest level of satisfaction within Western European countries is found amongst French people (58%), followed by Germans (64.3%). Contrary to this lower ranking of Germany, Croatians (67.4%) as well as people from Slovenia (67.9%) have the highest satisfaction levels within Eastern European countries. Their numbers are similar to those of Switzerland (67.2%) and the United Kingdom (67.7%).

Concerning dissatisfaction, the people of France have the highest level of dissatisfaction overall: about every third reports being dissatisfied with how the police have treated them in an encounter. Amongst Western European countries, Denmark shows the largest proportion of dissatisfaction, with about every fourth of those stopped by the police being dissatisfied. Other countries with large groups of unsatisfied people are Hungary (30.8%), Bulgaria (27.7%), and Poland (26.2%). The proportion of neutral respondents, having been neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, seems to be much larger in Eastern European countries.

There is ongoing discussion in the research community about whether only negative experiences with the police have a negative influence on trust in them or if a positive interaction will result in a better image and therefore in a higher trust as well (Skogan, 2006; Bradford et al., 2009). While mainly studies in Anglo-Saxon countries (Reisig & Chandek, 2001; Skogan, 2006; Bradford, 2011) show that a negative impact of unfavorable ratings of police encounters on trust in them weighs more than positive ones, such results cannot be confirmed here. So far, analyses prove the asymmetry hypothesis for the Eastern European cluster only, as shown in Table 35.

Dummy variables for each item of satisfaction with police contact were included in regression analyses, with being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied as the reference category. The negative impact of dissatisfaction is strong in the East (B = -1.660). Satisfaction with treatment received also leads to a higher trust in the police, but the impact is slightly lower (B = 1.594). Amongst Western European countries, a favorable evaluation of police contact leads to a clearly better opinion of the police (B = 1.560), while the negative impact of dissatisfaction is much smaller (B = -.444). Hence, hypothesis 4.1 can only partly be confirmed.

The relation of satisfaction with the treatment received and trust in the police found is a surprise. Contrary to the expectation based on the asymmetry hypothesis, unfavorable ratings only count more than positive ones in the Eastern European cluster, where trust in the police is much lower anyway compared to Western European countries. Reasons may lie within the research design. As most of the studies within the field of attitudinal research are based on local or at least national samples, data used here stems from a large opinion poll. Furthermore, the question asking about police-initiated contact was rather general in nature, not specifying any form of contact. Conversely, local studies often operate on questions about concrete forms of contact, such as traffic stops. Hence, failure to differentiate between specific forms of police stops might blur results. People stopped by the police in a regular traffic control might react differently to officers than those approached because they'd breached a

law, e.g. driven too fast. While a traffic control might get on somebody's nerves because it is time consuming, receiving a ticket can be perceived as unfair. Nevertheless, studies have shown that police stops most often concern traffic offences (Tyler, 1990).

Table 35: Impact of satisfaction with encounter on trust in the police (linear multivariate regressions)

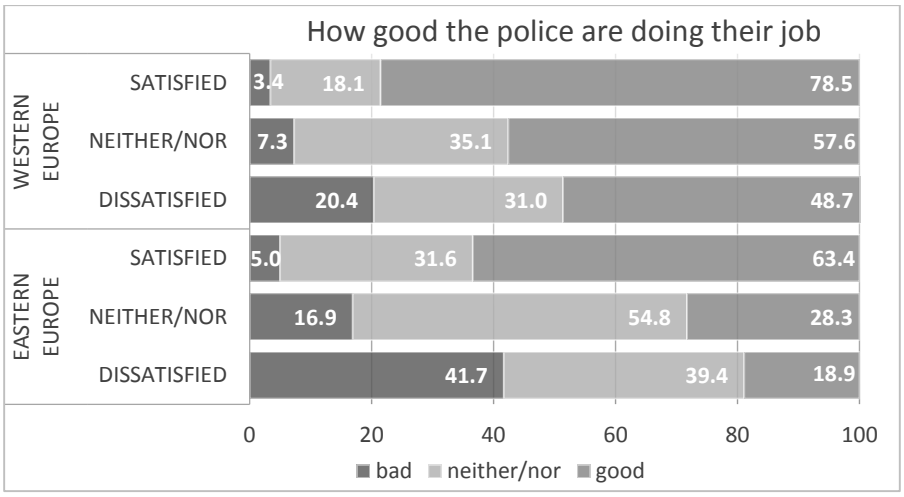
		Unstandardized Coeff.		Standard-ized Coeff.	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t
Western Europe	(Constant)	6.035	.079		76.694
	Satisfaction with treatment received				
	Very satisfied	1.560***	.086	.281	18.201
	Satisfied	.864***	.080	.176	10.752
	Dissatisfied	-.566***	.098	-.077	-5.752
	Very dissatisfied	-.444***	.102	-.057	-4.376
	Country dummies				
	Denmark	.638**	.195	.033	3.277
	Finland	1.045***	.153	.069	6.826
	France	-1.168***	.068	-.197	-17.233
	Norway	.228	.185	.012	1.231
	Sweden	-.085	.121	-.007	-.706
	Switzerland	.130	.138	.010	.938
	Belgium	-.717	.115	-.065	-6.235
	Netherlands	-.472***	.101	-.049	-4.659
	Great Britain	-.728***	.066	-.126	-10.972
	Ireland	-.437	.196	-.022	-2.230
	R^2	.163			
	N	8,676			
Eastern Europe	(Constant)	4.841	.125		38.593
	Satisfaction with treatment received				
	Very satisfied	1.594***	.201	.182	7.926
	Satisfied	.913***	.136	.175	6.714
	Dissatisfied	-.742***	.180	-.098	-4.114
	Very dissatisfied	-1.660***	.197	-.195	-8.426
	Country dummies	1.594***	.201	.182	7.926
	Czech Republic	-.455**	.158	-.061	-2.881
	Estonia	.441	.371	.024	1.188
	Hungary	-.258	.158	-.035	-1.637
	Slovenia	-.376	.318	-.024	-1.182
	Slovakia	-.722***	.207	-.073	-3.491
	Croatia	-.818***	.222	-.076	-3.686
	Lithuania	-.340	.299	-.023	-1.138
	Bulgaria	-1.416***	.249	-.117	-5.696
	R^2	.149			
	N	2,150			

Note: Source: ESS5, sample of people stopped by the police
Coefficients of OLS-regressions, dependent variable: trust in the police
Reference category: being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
Excluded from the system: Germany and Poland
Significance levels: * 0.01 < p < 0.05, ** 0.001 < p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

The next analyses will look at the impact of satisfaction on ratings of police work and their procedural fairness. The strong impact seen above are expected to appear here as well, as the above results have further shown a rather close relationship of people's trust in the police with opinions of police's work and their procedural justice. When visualizing the correlations according to values of cross-tabulations, it became obvious that, in fact, satisfied people rate police's work and their procedural fairness better, while the police are seen less positive amongst the unsatisfied individuals[29]. This is the case in both parts of Europe. However, the impact of satisfaction on attitudes towards the police is stronger in the East than in the West. Within the Western European cluster, results confirm the stronger positive impact of satisfaction already found for trust in the police (Figure 21). There is a large discrepancy in the evaluation of police work between satisfied and dissatisfied people. In Western Europe, 78.5% of satisfied people rate police work as very good, while only 48.7% of unsatisfied ones follow suit. Conversely, of those satisfied people, only 3.4% rate police work as negative, while 20.4% gave this rating in cases of dissatisfaction. Differences are even more pronounced in the East: One the one hand, satisfied people rate police work as positive 44.5% more often than dissatisfied ones (63.4% vs. 18.9%). Dissatisfied people, on the other hand, clearly rate police work negatively (41.7%). Despite their dissatisfaction, 18.9% of respondents gave the police a good evaluation. As further results show, dissatisfaction with the police is based on unfair decisions and disrespectful treatment by the police (Figure 22). Only about one-fourth of unsatisfied people in Eastern Europe attribute the police with procedural fairness, while more than 70% of those satisfied with the treatment received attribute them with the same. In the West, ratings of police work and trust in their procedural fairness are similar. Close to 90% of people satisfied with the treatment received in an encounter attribute the police with procedural fairness, while only about 62% of those being dissatisfied follow suit.

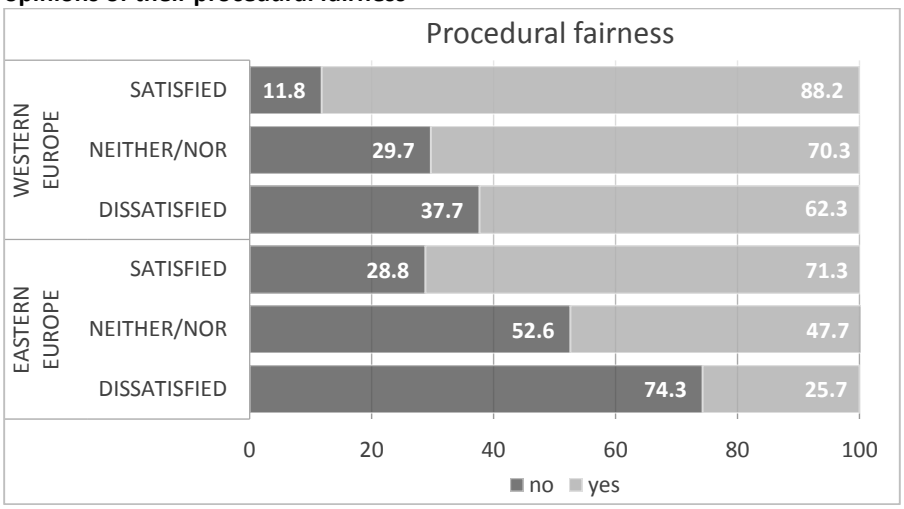
[29] In order to have enough cases, different forms of negative and positive answers were combined. For all correlations: $p < 0.001$.

Figure 21: Impact of satisfaction with treatment received by the police on confidence in their work



Note: Percent, numbers: Western Europe: dissatisfied n = 1,998, neither/nor n = 957, satisfied n = 5,711, Eastern Europe: dissatisfied n = 513, neither/nor n = 455, satisfied n = 1,179
Significance level: for both clusters: $p < 0.001$

Figure 22: Impact of satisfaction with treatment received by the police on opinions of their procedural fairness



Note: Percent, numbers: Western Europe: dissatisfied n = 1,849, neither/nor n = 839, satisfied n = 5,134, Eastern Europe: dissatisfied n = 448, neither/nor n = 368, satisfied n = 988
Significance level: for both clusters: $p < 0.001$

Results confirm assumption 4: A positive experience with police officers has a positive influence on trust in and attitudes towards the police in general. Favorable ratings of police contact lead to better ratings of police work and of their general procedural fairness. Hence, hypotheses 4.2 and 4.3 are confirmed. However, as the questions about procedural fairness were asked independently of the interaction with the police, the direction of causation remains unclear. Positive views of police's general fairness might lead to better evaluations of police contact too. Furthermore, results confirm the asymmetry hypothesis for the Eastern European cluster only. Hence, hypothesis 4.1 is partly rejected.

The questionnaire only allows general statements rather than saying something about the type of the contact, whether the police stopped people on the street, verified their identities, during a traffic control, or based on unlawful behavior. Furthermore, there is the possibility that they contacted people in order to talk about a former incident such as criminal victimization, meaning that they were already in contact with these people before. When splitting the file into two groups of crime victims and non-crime victims, results show clear differences between them (Table 36). Attitudes towards the police are lower amongst victims in Western and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, victims are significantly less satisfied with police encounters (Table 37).

Table 36: Impact of victimization on attitudes towards the police

	Police doing good/bad job in country			Procedural fairness	
Victim	Bad	Neither/Nor	Good	No	Yes
			Western Europe		
Yes	9.7 (383)	26.6 (383)	65.9 (1,840)	28.0 (975)	72.0 (2,510)
No	5.9 (1,111)	21.1 (3,948)	73.0 (13,672)	21.3 (3,437)	78.7 (12,701)
			Eastern Europe		
Yes	19.2 (153)	42.6 (340)	38.2 (305)	54.2 (354)	45.8 (299)
No	10.5 (623)	37.5 (2,230)	52.0 (3,092)	39.6 (1,794)	60.4 (2,737)

Note: Source: ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets
For all $p < 0.001$

Table 37: Impact of victimization on satisfaction with police encounter

	Satisfaction with police contact		
Victim	Dissatisfied	Neither/Nor	Satisfied
		Western Europe	
Yes	27.7 (639)	11.4 (263)	60.9 (1,402)
No	21.4 (1,364)	10.9 (696)	67.7 (4,308)
		Eastern Europe	
Yes	30.6 (138)	22.8 (103)	46.6 (210)
No	22.2 (374)	20.8 (354)	57.2 (971)

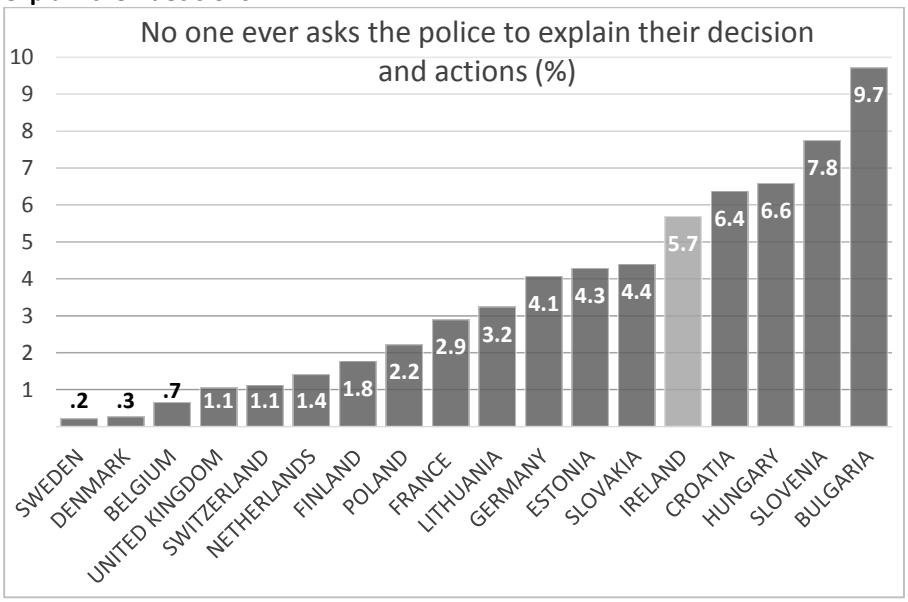
Note: Source: ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets
For all $p < 0.001$

I critically dealt with the frequencies of criminal victimization per country in chapter 5.3.4: Control Variables: Socio-Demographics. When comparing the values with those of the International Crime Victims Survey, they were found to be too high in some and a little bit too low in other countries. This might have an impact on the results. However, as per cluster, this was only the case for certain countries; the overall impact on trust in the police might not be affected. Moreover, not the strength of impact is of interest here but rather whether there is an impact at all. This result of difference in trust in the police between crime victims and non-victims will be considered in multiple linear regression analyses later on by including criminal victimization as a control variable. Moreover, when performing analyses for

Switzerland, the use of data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 allows consideration of not only contact initiated by the police but also crime victims' reporting to the police.

A hint of a cultural influence of an imbalance of power between an officer and the population in a country is given by a fifth possible answer for the third item of procedural fairness. People were able to answer the question on whether the police in the country generally explain their decisions or not with *no one ever ask the police to explain their decisions* (treated as missing in the item of procedural fairness). While only small parts of interviewees in Western European countries answered that it is uncommon to ask the police to explain their decisions, the number is much higher in Eastern Europe (Figure 23). The question was not fielded in Norway and the Czech Republic. In most of the Western European countries, less than 2.5% of the people reported that it was uncommon to ask a police officer for an explanation. However, Germany (4.1%) and Ireland (5.7%) also show higher levels of respect towards the police compared to the other Western European countries. Another cultural factor that might shape the perception of the police is the openness of people towards their fellow men, as shown in the next chapter.

Figure 23: Percentages of people answering that the police are not asked to explain their decisions



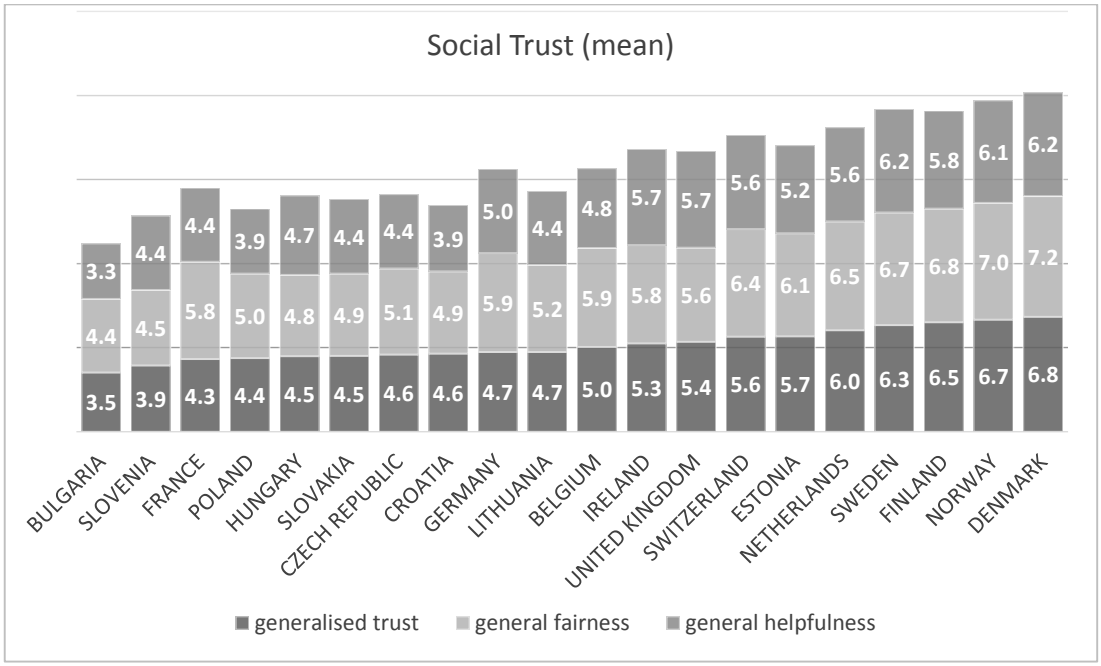
10.4.2 The Impact of Social Trust

The distribution of the three items measuring social trust differs between and within countries, as shown in Figure 24. Residents of Eastern European countries are much more cautious concerning other people compared to those of Western Europe. Less than every third Bulgarian generally trusts other, unfamiliar people, while this number is seven out of ten in Denmark. The only exception is France with the third smallest mean value of generalized trust (4.3), while the level of trust in others'

fairness is much higher (5.8). Within the three items of social trust, respondents rate the fairness of their fellow men the highest overall, followed by their trustworthiness, and finally helpfulness at the lower end. Exceptions are Slovenia, Hungary, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, where the difference between trust in others' fairness and in their helpfulness is rather small.

Furthermore, while the high trust countries of Scandinavia and the Netherlands have the same view of other people's trustworthiness, fairness, and helpfulness, the items scatter more diversely amongst the rest of the countries. The discrepancies are the largest for Belgium and Germany: Belgians rate their fellow citizen as rather fair (58.7%), but only more than about every third think they are helpful (35%), with the level of trustworthiness between the two (43.2%). In addition, Germans differ similarly between levels of trust, helpfulness, and others' fairness (35.3%, 36%, and 54.9%). These differences between and within countries highlight, that in empirical analyses, social trust items should be used separately rather than combined as an index.

Figure 24: Mean values of three indicators for social trust in Western and Eastern European countries



The more people evaluate their fellow men as trustworthy, fair, and helpful, the higher their trust in the police, in both Western and Eastern European countries (Table 38). These linear regression analyses confirm the results found in analyses at the macro level, which showed a significant linear relationship between social trust and trust in the police. While the positive impact of generalized trust and general helpfulness on trust in the police is higher in the West, positive views of other people's fairness count slightly more in the East.

Table 38: Impact of social trust on trust in the police (linear multivariate regressions)

	West	East	West police encounter		East police encounter	
			no	yes	no	yes
(Constant)	4.792	3.877	4.007	4.432	4.149	3.284
Generalized trust	.132***	.113***	**.141*** **	.118***	.089***	**.168*** **
General fairness	.120***	.125***	.095***	**.158*** **	**.132*** **	.106***
General helpfulness	.149***	.098***	.141***	**.151*** **	.084***	**.127*** **
R^2	.145	.106	.144	.149	.114	.106
N	22,574	6,756	13,895	8,643	4,604	2,131

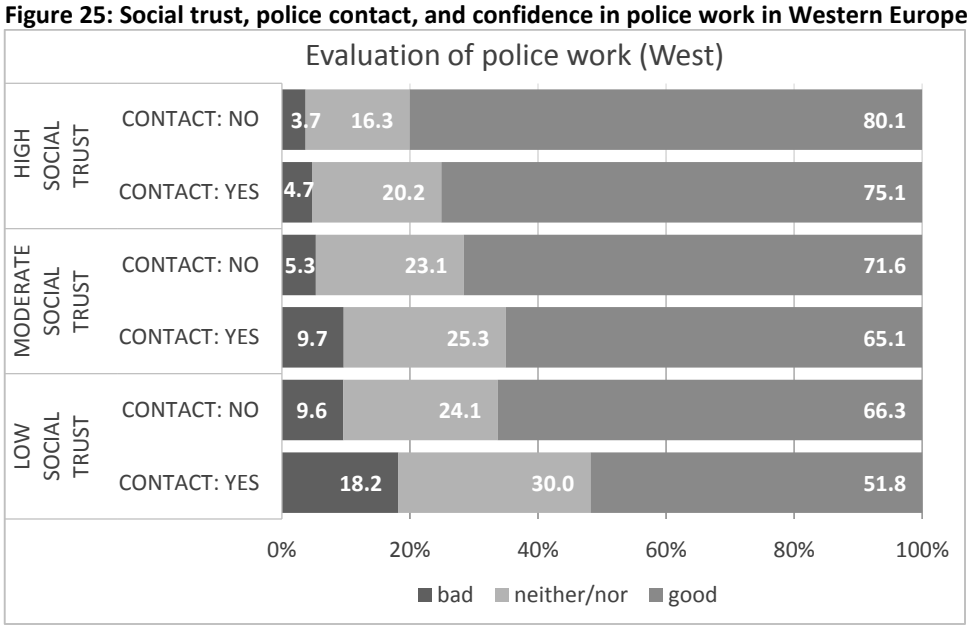
Note: Source: ESS5; B-coefficients of OLS-regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
Including country dummies (not shown here)
Significance level: *** $p < 0.001$

However, when taking the experience of a police stop into account, splitting the sample in two groups–people with and people without police contact–results differ. While amongst Western European countries the positive impact of general fairness and general helpfulness on trust in the police rose amongst the contact sample, it declined for those not having been in contact with the police. Conversely, the positive impact of generalized trust or trust in the police declined in the contact sample, while it remains more or less the same amongst people not stopped by the police. Overall, the differences are only marginal. The East shows the contrary pattern with a larger positive impact of general fairness amongst the group of people not having been in contact with the police. Reasons for this might be due to different circumstances and experiences during police stops. It is conceivable that not only the stops themselves are experienced as rather unfair and harsh, derived from larger percentages of dissatisfaction with how the police have treated people, as seen in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the direct intervention or rather non-intervention of bystanders might lead to larger negative evaluations of others' trustworthiness and helpfulness. Overall, compared to the West, numbers reveal larger differences between the two groups of people with and without police contact. Finally, the amount of variance of trust in the police explained by social trust is slightly larger for the contact sample in Western Europe, while, on the contrary, the impact is slightly stronger for the group of people not in contact with the police.

What is the situation for confidence in the police? Is the impact of social trust on the evaluation of police work similar? Results reveal that in both Western and Eastern European countries a high general trust leads to a higher general confidence in police work compared to lower trust, independently of being in contact with the police or not (Figure 25, Figure 26[30]).

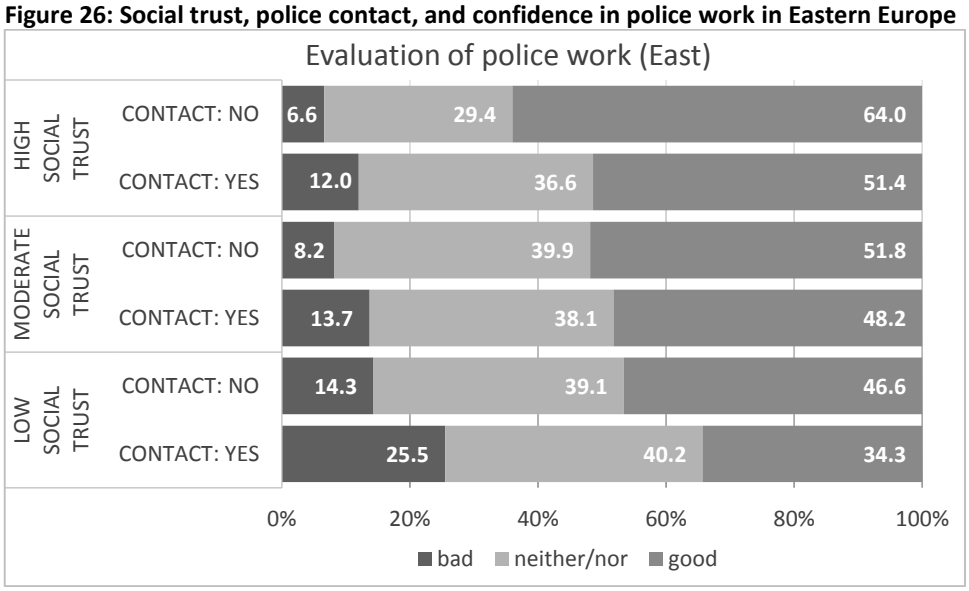
[30] As differences between the three items of social trust are marginal only, results of the combined social trust items are displayed.

Figure 25: Social trust, police contact, and confidence in police work in Western Europe



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 2,166, moderate = 12,640, high = 7,721
Significance level: for all $p < 0.001$

Figure 26: Social trust, police contact, and confidence in police work in Eastern Europe



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 1,659, moderate = 3,773, high = 1,313
Significance level: for all $p < 0.001$

When comparing the two groups of people with and without police contact in Western Europe first, the ratings are worse amongst those stopped by the police. Moreover, the largest difference between the contact and the non-contact groups exists for people with a low social trust. Here, positive ratings are 14.5% lower compared to those not trusting their fellow citizen and not having experienced a police stop (51.8% vs. 66.3%). Contrary to this, differences are much smaller in the sample of people with high social trust (75.1% vs. 80.1%). This discrepancy becomes even clearer when looking at unfavorable evaluations. People in contact with the police give a bad

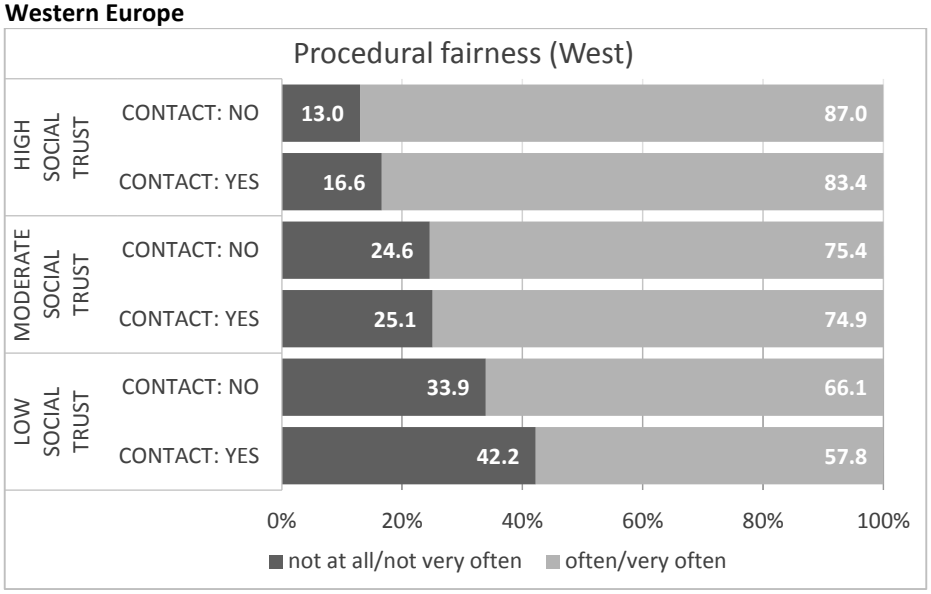
evaluation of the police only very slightly more often compared to those not stopped by the police (3.7% vs. 4.7%). However, suspicious people with a police encounter evaluate police work 8.6% negatively more often (9.6% vs. 18.2%). Results for Eastern Europe also differ in the sense that, within the high trust group, those being stopped by the police demonstrate clearly less favorable evaluations of police work (51.4% vs. 64% good work). However, as in the West, suspicious people with very low social trust also give a bad evaluation of the police much more often if they had contact with them (14.3% vs. 25.5%).

When comparing the groups with high social trust to those with low social trust, it is evident that the work of the police in Western Europe is evaluated as good 28.3% less often in cases where people were stopped by them, while the difference for the non-contact group is less than half that (-13.8%). Contrary to this, in Eastern Europe, no such difference exists for good evaluations of police work. However, suspicious people being stopped by the police clearly give a bad evaluation of the work of the police more often than those with high trust and police contact (13.5%), while the difference for those with no police contact is clearly smaller (7.7%). The same pattern is found for Western Europe. It can be deduced that suspiciousness towards unknown others is transformed into institutional representatives, such as police officers and their work, in an encounter.

Finally, the influence of social trust on procedural fairness is analyzed. In Western European countries, as shown in Figure 27, the number of people not crediting the police with being respectful and making fair decisions becomes larger the lower the social trust is and it is larger overall amongst those people with experience with the police. When looking at differences between the two groups of people having been in contact with the police and those not stopped, it became obvious that the difference is largest for pessimistic people, where the negative evaluation becomes worse for those stopped by the police, with 8.3% fewer positive ratings of police's procedural fairness (57.8% vs. 66.1%). Contrary to this, the evaluation of police's procedural fairness does not differ between the contact/non-contact groups of people with a moderate social trust in others. Finally, it is only small for those with high social trust (-3.6%).

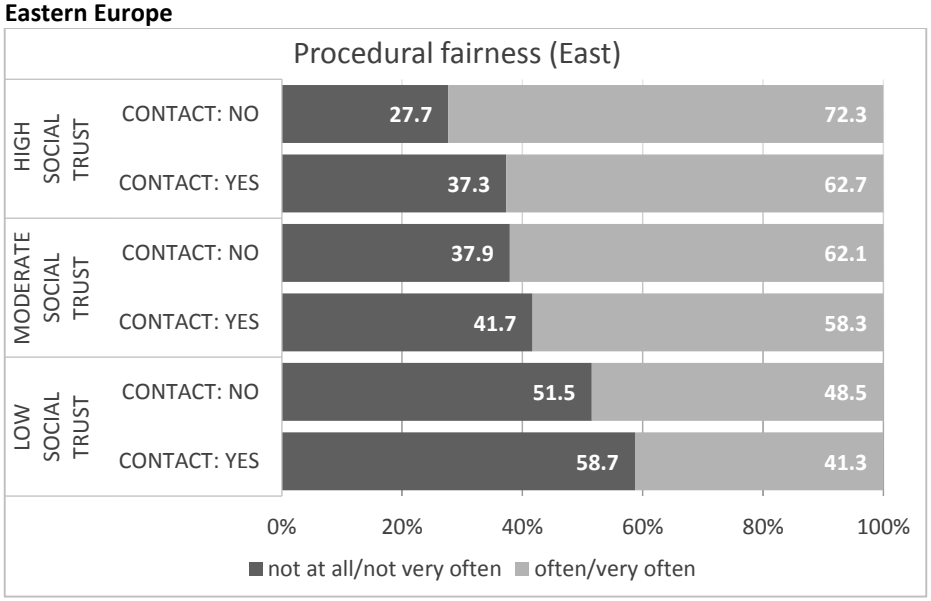
Again, results are contrary in Eastern European countries (Figure 28). First, the figure reveals that people assign general procedural fairness to the police less often overall than in the West, where about 83% of people rate the police for implementing procedural fairness. Secondly, the difference in the evaluation of police's procedural fairness between the groups of people the police stopped and those not being contacted is larger for those trusting their fellow men. Such people, with high social trust and experience with the police, rate the police 9.6% less often as treating people respectfully, making fair decisions, and explaining their decisions compared to those that were not contacted (72.3% vs. 62.7%). On the other hand, the difference in evaluation is lower between the groups of pessimistic people not trusting their fellow men (-7.2%).

Figure 27: Social trust, police contact, and trust in police's procedural fairness in Western Europe



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 1,898, moderate = 10,975, high = 6,696
Significance level: low and high social trust: $p < 0.001$, moderate: non-significant

Figure 28: Social trust, police contact, and trust in police's procedural fairness in Eastern Europe



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 1,238, moderate = 2,948, high = 1,039
Significance level: low and high social trust: $p < 0.01$, moderate: $p < 0.05$

So far it can be summarized that social trust measured by positive opinions of other people's trust, their fairness and helpfulness correlate with a higher trust in the police, independently of the contact experience with the police. In both Western and Eastern Europe, unfavorable evaluations of police work are especially strong among suspicious people being stopped by the police. Results reconfirm those of other studies (Kaase, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Grönlund and Setälä, 2012): Social trust has a positive impact on trust in

institutions such as the police. Furthermore, thus far, it can be concluded that people's general positive opinions of their fellow men are transferred to contact with police officers. Social trust has a positive impact on trust in and attitudes towards the police, especially in cases of police contact. Results confirm hypotheses 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3. However, results differ for trust in police's procedural fairness. In Western Europe, the difference between the contact and the non-contact group is especially strong for people with low social trust. In Eastern Europe, the contrary is true. It is hard to explain these differences without further information on the circumstances of the police encounter and on people with different levels of social trust. It might, for example, be possible that very suspicious people in the West are part of subcultures encountering the police in more conflictive situations, such as demonstrations or illegal behaviors. Several studies show that social trust is influenced by individual characteristics such as education, age, and income. Those with a higher level of education generally exhibit greater trust toward their fellow citizens. In addition, higher education leads to more trust in immediate social surroundings and to more abstract trust targeted at people in general (Uslaner, 2002; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Freitag & Traunmüller, 2009). With regard to age, several studies show that older people have a higher trust in their fellow citizens (Uslaner, 2002; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008). Freitag & Traunmüller (2009) found that older people trust foreigners as well as familiar people more. When it comes to cross-country effects, many studies have shown that income inequality is among the most robust determinants of trust. Anything that reduces the social distance between citizens of a country could be expected to lead to more individual trust (Bjørnskov, 2007).

Cross-tabulations show statistically significant differences in social trust for age, education, ethnic minority, income, life satisfaction, criminal victimization, fear of crime, and going out, for both Western and Eastern European clusters. Gender only differs in Western Europe, with females having a higher social trust than males. People with high social trust are marked by high religiousness, high income, and high life satisfaction overall. Furthermore, they are more often settled on the right side of the political scale, are well educated, meet frequently with friends, are slightly less often a victim of a crime, have a low fear of crime, and are less often a member of an ethnic minority (results not shown here). Individual characteristics also play role in trust in and attitudes towards the police. Hence, the following chapter will examine whether these moderate existing results.

10.5 Encounters and the Influence of Individual and Contextual Factors

10.5.1 Controlling for Individual Influences: Socio-Demographics

Research has widely confirmed that socio-demographics, such as age, have an impact on how the police are viewed. Moreover, Skogan (2005) showed that such characteristics are also related to police contact, as males and younger people have a

higher chance of being stopped by the police (also Bradford et al., 2009; Jackson et al., 2012). Furthermore, a large body of research deals with minority issues (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Correia et al., 1996; Reisig & Correia, 1997; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Schafer et al., 2003; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Jackson et al., 2012). Besides this, several studies report the negative impact of victimization on attitudes towards and trust in the police (Poister & McDavid, 1978; König, 1980; Percy, 1980; Killias, 1989; Schwarzenegger, 1992, p. 245; Cao et al., 1996; Kusow et al., 1997; Oskarsson, 2010; Bradford, 2011). Closely linked to a criminal victimization is fear of crime (Cao et al., 1996; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Jackson et al., 2009) as well as avoidance behavior (Hindelang et al., 1978). Before controlling for socio-demographic and other individual characteristics in further linear regression analyses, their direct influence on trust in the police will be analyzed. Moreover, how the influence changes between the samples of people without and those with police contact will be tested. Results for Western and Eastern Europe reveal clear differences in trust in the police between the contact and non-contact sample for gender, age, ethnic minority, and socially meeting with friends (Table 39).

Firstly, it can be seen that the higher trust in the police of Western females is caused by police encounters, while females with no police contact do not show a higher trust in the police. Furthermore, in Western Europe, young people between 14 and 25 years have a lower trust in the police than those over 60 in cases where they experienced a police stop (B = -.483). Without such an experience, young age does not matter. In the East, the impact is only statistically significant in the non-contact group. Moreover, the same pattern is found for 26- to 39-year-olds. It can be concluded that, in Eastern Europe, factors other than the age came into play in cases of police contact. A further discrepancy in Western Europe can be seen with citizenship and ethnic minority. While possession of citizenship leads to a more critical view of the police in all samples, the statistically significant negative impact that belonging to an ethnic minority has on trust in the police becomes insignificant in cases of police encounters (B = -.159). In the East, no significant impact was found for either citizenship or ethnic minority. Furthermore, religiousness leads to a better view of the police in the West, independently of a police encounter. Contrary to this, in Eastern Europe, the positive impact of religiousness becomes insignificant in the contact sample. Once more, it can be assumed that encounters might be more problematic in the East than in the West, causing the positive effects of socio-demographics to disappear. However, the different influence of political orientation on trust in the police in the West speaks against this argument. While a settling on the left side of the political spectrum leads to lower trust in the police in all samples, with the strongest impact in the contact group, the positive influence of a right attitude on trust in the police disappears in the contact group. It can be concluded that the effect of improper police behavior is stronger, bringing to fall the positive opinion of the police held by conservative people.

Finally, only in Western Europe does leisure behavior influence trust in the police. Especially people meeting with friends or colleagues less than once a month have a negative opinion of the police, in cases where they were not in contact with them (*B* = -.367). However, this negative influence disappears in the contact sample (*B* = .019). It might be possible that such marginalized people were contacted by the police in order to help them, therefore contributing to a more positive image.

Table 39: Influence of socio-demographic variables on trust in the police in Western and Eastern Europe (linear multivariate regressions)

	Western Europe			Eastern Europe		
	full sample	no contact	contact	full sample	no contact	contact
(Constant)	6.641	6.951	5.868	4.474	4.733	3.532
Female	.153***	-.007	.308***	.152*	.119	.123
Age groups (ref: >59 years)						
14–25 years	-.268***	.023	-.483***	-.547***	-.506***	-.335
26–39 years	-.080	-.085	.010	-.376***	-.473***	.034
40–59 years	-.163***	-.103*	-.157*	-.149	-.193	.214
Years of education	-.042	-.092*	.096	.063	.077	.147
Citizen of country	-.390***	-.439***	-.280*	-.212	-.391	.143
Ethnic minority	-.228**	-.268**	-.159	.073	.331	-.468
Income (ref: low)	.282***	.203***	.426***	.342***	.418***	.168
Religiousness (ref: low)	.383***	.363***	.415***	.377***	.402***	.305*
Political orientation (ref: moderate)						
left	-.195***	-.147**	-.246***	.206*	.142	.333
right	.190***	.264***	.076	.298***	.260	.373*
Life satisfaction (ref: low)	.836***	.790***	.892***	.781***	.765***	.777***
Criminal victimization	-.341***	-.194**	-.322***	-.459***	-.379*	-.447**
Fear of crime	-.163***	-.129*	-.181*	-.500***	-.421***	-.590***
Going out (ref: once or several times a month)						
less than once a month	-.255***	-.367***	.019	.030	.074	-.140
once or several times a week	.022	.026	.058	.031	-.029	.164
every day	-.052	.018	-.045	.167	.409*	-.171
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)						
agglomeration	-.066	-.019	-.137	.108	.005	.280
town, small city	-.064	-.050	-.068	.152	.159	.121
rural	-.082	-.043	-.131	.298	.255*	.344*
adj. R^2	.120	.115	.136	.099	.112	.078
N	18,441	11,190	7,229	5,022	3,385	1,630

Note: Source: ESS5: B-coefficient of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
Including country dummies (not shown); excluded from the system: Germany and Poland
Countries weighted by design and population
[1] Years of education: 1 = 0-6 years, 2 = 7-12 years, 3 = 13-23 years, 4<23 years

10.5.2 Final Analyses

With all the information of the previous chapters in mind, I calculated overall linear regression models measuring the impact of satisfaction with the treatment received on overall trust in the police. I control for variables found to have an influence on the likelihood of being stopped by the police, as well as general socio-demographic

variables shown to be directly related with trust in the police. Results of the Western European cluster found so far confirm the impact of satisfaction on trust in the police, with the positive impact being larger than the negative one (Table 40). Even though social trust and socio-demographic variables moderate, especially the high impact of very satisfied people, it still holds the strongest position in the final model 5, leading to an 11% higher trust in the police[31]. Negative evaluations, on the other hand, are less strong. Furthermore, results confirm the overall positive impact of social trust on trust in the police. Looking at the influence of social trust on the perception of police encounters, it can be seen—when comparing Models 1 and 2—that social trust explains part of the level of satisfaction with police contact. In particular, it moderates the very satisfied score, which is .157 points lower in Model 2, as well as those of dissatisfaction (minus .161). The reduction for satisfied (minus .041) and very dissatisfied (minus .102) is smaller.

A strong impact can be seen for governmental trust, very largely influencing trust in the police (Model 3). In particular, it contributes to the influence of very satisfied people. Control variables in Model 4 reduce the values of satisfaction slightly. As numbers in the final model, after the inclusion of country dummies, do not change strongly, the found results are robust across countries. The final model explains 47% of the variance of trust in the police, which is very good[32].

Concerning the impact of socio-demographic factors, the overall picture fits other research results. Statistically significant impacts are found for gender, with women having a higher trust in the police than men. Furthermore, the youngest age group has lower trust in the police compared to the over-60-year-olds. A negative impact on the picture of the police is furthermore found for education and a settling on the left side of the political scale. Contrary to this, high religiosity and satisfaction with life as a whole lead to a slightly better opinion of the police. While criminal victimization leads to a more negative opinion of the police, people that feel unsafe when walking alone in a local area after dark trust the police more.

[31] Even though this result clearly shows higher trust in the police for people very satisfied with treatment received by the police, it is targeted towards the mean level of trust in the police. Hence, no statements can be made about the position on the trust in the police scale. One possibility to reach results that are more precise is the use of quantile regression (see Hohl, 2009). Since I am not experienced in the method, I will not apply it here.

[32] Of course, this can partly be due to the high number of items included in the regression analyses. For critical discussion on the interpretation of R^2, see Baltes-Götz, 2013.

Table 40: Impact of police encounters, social trust, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Western Europe (linear multivariate regressions)

	Trust in the police in Western Europe				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(Constant)	6.543***	4.298***	2.758***	3.010***	3.478***
1. Police-initiated contact	-.893***	-.820***	-.688***	-.547***	-.598***
2. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral)[1]					
Very satisfied	1.602***	1.445***	1.136***	1.069***	1.098***
Satisfied	.815***	.774***	.615***	.551***	.606***
Dissatisfied	-.734***	-.573***	-.402***	-.389***	-.341***
Very dissatisfied	-.419***	-.317**	-.231**	-.239**	-.198***
3. Social trust (0-10)		.411***	.106***	.095***	.094***
4. Governmental trust (0-10)					
Trust in politics			.033***	.033***	.044***
Trust in the legal system			.503***	.508***	.483***
5. Control variables					
Female (ref: male)				.111***	.136***
Age groups (ref: >59 years)					
14–25 years				-.328***	-.345***
26–39 years				-.023	.011
40–59 years				-.105**	-.084**
Years of education				-.147***	-.189***
Citizen of country (ref: no)				.048	.115
Ethnic minority (ref: no)				-.471***	-.435***
High income (ref: low)				.053	.045
Religiousness (ref: low)				.130***	.075**
Political orientation: (ref: moderate)				-.287***	-.262***
left					
right				-.083**	-.012
Life satisfaction (ref: low)				.219***	.188***
Criminal victimization (ref: no)				-.217***	-.134***
Fear of crime (ref: no)				.166***	.160***
Going out (once/several times a month)					
up to once a month				.052	.020
once/several times a week				-.031	.011
every day				-.090*	.011
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)					
aglomeration				-.029	-.048
town, small city				.023	-.056
tural				.098**	.058
6. Countries					
Denmark					-.396***
Finland					.191*
France					-.740***
Norway					-.607***
Sweden					-.773***
Switzerland					-.452***
Belgium					-.597***
Netherlands					-1.017***
Great Britain					-.471***
Ireland					-.059
adj. R^2	.053	.147	.438	.454	.474
N	17,818	17,818	17,818	17,818	17,818

Note: Source: ESS5: full sample; B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police

[1] Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police

Significance levels: * 0.05 < *p* > 0.01, ** 0.01 < *p* > 0.001, *** *p* > 0.000

Excluded from the system: Germany

Table 41: Impact of police encounters, social trust, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Eastern Europe (linear multivariate regressions)

	Trust in the police in Eastern Europe				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(Constant)	5.090***	3.541***	2.109***	2.196***	2.385***
1. Police-initiated contact	-.393**	-.381**	-.433***	-.302**	-.313**
2. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral)[1]					
Very satisfied	1.431***	1.389***	1.270***	1.163***	1.196***
Satisfied	.737***	.656***	.714***	.622***	.635***
Dissatisfied	-.711**	-.671**	-.461**	-.448**	-.412*
Very dissatisfied	-1.569***	-1.406***	-.806***	-.745***	-.789***
3. Social trust (0-10)		.343***	.085***	.075***	.083***
4. Governmental trust (0-10)					
Trust in politics			.050***	.046***	.048***
Trust in the legal system			.536***	.533***	.526***
5. Control variables					
Female (ref: male)				-.015	.006
Age groups (ref: >59 years)					
14–25 years				-.471***	-.556***
26–39 years				-.217**	-.254**
40–59 years				-.045	-.070
Years of education				.025	.013
Citizen of country (ref: no)				-.113	-.035
Ethnic minority (ref: no)				-.210	-.095
High income (ref: low)				.022	.076
Religiousness (ref: low)				.189**	.088
Political orientation: (ref: moderate)					
left				.010	.013
right				-.047	-.041
Life satisfaction (ref: low)				.167**	.104
Criminal victimization (ref: no)				-.325***	-.339***
Fear of crime (ref: no)				-.213**	-.155*
Going out (once/several times a month)					
up to once a month				-.013	.021
once/several times a week				-.059	-.010
every day				.117	.228*
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)					
agglomeration				.080	.164
town, small city				.134	.139*
rural				.142*	.140*
6. Countries					
Czech Republic					-.445***
Estonia					-.046
Hungary					-.516***
Slovenia					-.047
Slovakia					-.682***
Croatia					-.530***
Lithuania					-.120
Bulgaria					-.457***
adj. R^2	.038	.108	.443	.452	.460
N	4,736	4,736	4,736	4,736	4,736

Note: Source: ESS5: full sample; B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police

[1] Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police

Significance levels: * 0.05 < *p* > 0.01, ** 0.01 < *p* > 0.001, *** *p* > 0.000

Excluded from the system: Poland

So far, analyses confirmed the asymmetry hypothesis for the Eastern Europe cluster only, showing that the negative impact of an unfavorable evaluation on trust in the police is stronger than the positive impact of a favorable one. This result rests stable in the final analyses (Table 41). Let us start again with the role of social trust. Like in the West, it contributes to a positive opinion of the police, leading to higher trust in them. Furthermore, it moderates the value of the very dissatisfied people in particular. It leads to a reduction of .163 in the value between Model 1 and Model 2, while the positive impact of those being very satisfied remains nearly on the same high level. Model 3 shows the strong impact of governmental trust, especially trust in the legal system. Together with trust in politics, it strongly reduces the value of very dissatisfied people (negative .600). At the same time, the impact of social trust on trust in the police becomes weak (*B* = .085). The explanation force of this model is already strong, at R^2 = .443. The inclusion of socio-demographics in Model 4 only slightly reduces the values found so far. Contrary to the West, far fewer variables reach statistical significance. As in the Western European cluster, young age leads to lower trust in the police. Moreover, criminal victimization but also fear of crime contributes negatively to the image of the police. Finally, people that meet socially with friends, colleagues, and family members on a daily basis have a higher trust in the police. Again, dummy variables for Model 5 do not lead to large changes in numbers, which prove the robustness of the results across countries. The final model explains 46% of the variance of trust in the police, which is slightly less than in the Western European cluster.

Results in the preceding chapters have proved that social trust contributes not only to the explanation of trust in the police but also influences the level of satisfaction with treatment received in a police encounter. Different impacts on attitudes towards the police were found for people with a low, moderate, and a high social trust. Based on these facts, I calculated the regression analyses for these subsamples of people with a low, moderate, and a high social trust individually. In addition, institutional trust was found to be related to trust in the police. Nevertheless, the overall distribution is similar to trust in the police, with people with low trust in the police having low institutional trust as well. Due to this very low variance, regression analyses for subsamples are inadequate.

Results of the Western European cluster, not differentiating between the three samples of social trust, confirmed the impact of satisfaction on trust in the police, with the positive impact being larger than the negative. However, calculating the analyses with the trichotomous samples shows that the positive impact of satisfaction primarily evolves in people with low general trust in their fellow men (Table 42). Satisfied low trust people show an approximately 1.7 to 1.9 times higher trust in the police over all models compared to people reporting being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the way the police treated them. Such a positive impact can also be found for people with moderate social trust, but with weaker in numbers. There is also a smaller positive

effect amongst high-trusting people. However, the positive number equals that of dissatisfaction. It can be concluded that the opinion of the police held by people who generally trust their fellow men is not largely affected by the level of satisfaction with treatment received in an encounter. Contrary to this, suspicious people who perceive a treatment as adequate are thankful and trust the police more. Of course, it might also be possible that the type of encounter differs between these two groups of people. As previously mentioned, very suspicious people might belong to subcultures that are contacted by the police in other circumstances than high-trusting people. However, in order to prove such an assumption, further information about the circumstances of encounters would be needed.

As in the full sample above, the strength of trust in governmental institutions is confirmed here in Model 2, leading to an R^2 of .37 to .39. These models already explain about 38% of the variance of trust in the police. It especially moderates the high impact of satisfaction on trust in the police. The influence of socio-demographic and other individual features, such as going out, contribute only marginally to these results, as shown in Model 3. Interestingly, these factors not only reduce the positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police amongst high-trusting people (*B* = .381) but also lead to an increase in the negative impact of dissatisfaction (*B* = -.430). The negative impact of dissatisfaction becomes stronger than the positive impact of satisfaction, confirming the asymmetry hypothesis, at least for those people with high social trust. Effects do not change drastically when controlling for country effects in Model 4, with the exception of the positive impact of satisfaction amongst those with low social trust, which becomes even stronger (*B* = 1.816). However, it can be stated that the results found are more or less stable across countries.

Contrary to the West, dissatisfaction with the police was found to negatively influence trust in the police in Eastern European countries. The impact was about the same as the positive one of satisfaction. However, the strong negative effect was largely reduced after the inclusion of governmental trust. Can the positive impact of satisfaction also be explained by different levels of social trust? There is indeed a difference between people with a low, moderate, and high social trust (Table 43). However, contrary to Western Europe, the positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police is especially high amongst the high-social-trust group, while the negative impact of dissatisfaction is found amongst the low-social-trust group. Even though this difference is reduced by the inclusion of further items, it still exists in the final Model 4 (*B* = .923) and can therefore be seen as robust across countries. According to the variance explained, the largest value (R^2 = .439) can be reached through the sample of people with low social trust, while it was those with the highest social trust in the West.

The impact of encounters with the police differs according to the level of social trust people have. Moreover, the impact of satisfaction with how the police have treated the case on trust in the police is different for the subsamples. It is expected

that the groups of people belonging to the low- or high-social-trust sample differ between Western and Eastern Europe. The strong positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police amongst people with very low social trust in the West might point to a marginalized group. In order to make well-founded statements, however, further analyses of these different social trust groups would be needed. Yet, this would go beyond the topic of this thesis.

Table 42: Impact of police encounters, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Western Europe, in samples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust (linear multivariate regressions)

	Trust in the police in Western Europe											
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Social trust	low	moderate	high	low	moderate	high	low	moderate	high	low	moderate	high
(Constant)	5.199***	6.305***	7.252***	2.671***	3.254***	3.603***	1.396**	3.531***	4.066***	1.061**	4.022***	4.454***
Police-initiated contact	-1.913***	-.905***	-.436***	-1.548***	-.690***	-.428***	-1.459***	-.551***	-.265**	-1.565***	-.611***	-.281**
1. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral)[1]												
Satisfied	1.960***	1.189***	.556***	1.703***	.872***	.468***	1.725***	.804***	.381***	1.816***	.856***	.386***
Dissatisfied	.258	-.532***	-.565***	.382	-.377***	-.392***	.457	-.370***	-.430***	.576	-.309**	-.429***
2. Governmental trust												
Trust in politics				.091***	.021***	.041***	.079***	.021***	.039***	.087***	.032***	.052***
Trust in the legal system				.457***	.534***	.473***	.486***	.538***	.480***	.473***	.514***	.444***
3. Control variables												
Female							.448***	.108***	.053	.416***	.147***	.072
Age groups (ref: >59 years)												
14–25 years							-.235	-.448***	-.173*	-.187	-.465***	-.200**
26–39 years							-.175	-.021	-.047	-.046	.005	-.020
40–59 years							-.377***	-.110*	-.052	-.265*	-.096*	-.042
Years of education							.061	-.189***	-.140***	-.054	-.230***	-.153***
Citizen of country							.899***	.088	-.248*	1.143***	.145	-.225*
Ethnic minority							-1.034***	-.473***	-.117	-.829***	-.476***	-.077
High income (ref: low)							-.104	.107**	.001	-.044	.094*	-.010
High religiosity (ref: low)							-.049	.195***	.115*	-.068	.134***	.070
Political orientation (ref: moderate)												
left							-.179	-.308**	-.252***	-.150	-.290***	-.213***
right							.398**	-.153***	-.069	.521***	-.099*	.006
Life satisfaction (ref: low)							.242*	.212***	.212**	.193	.169***	.202**
Criminal victimization							-.293*	-.191***	-.223***	-.152	-.104*	-.177***
Fear of crime							.149	.159***	.185**	.119	.144**	.203***

Going out (once/several times a month)												
up to once a month							.284	.018	.248*	.261	-.049	.261**
once or several times a week							.307*	-.018	-.114*	.359**	.013	-.060
every day							.498**	-.016	-.290***	.573	.065	-.171**
Place of residence (ref: big city)												
suburb							-.033	-.035	-.027	-.186	-.079	.000
town, small city							-.146	-.009	.132*	-.272	-.111*	.097
rural							-.016	.053	.156**	-.108	.003	.170**
adj. R^2	.054	.050	.021	.374	.384	.389	.410	.403	.407	.429	.424	.435
N	1,687	9,873	6,261	1,687	9,873	6,261	1,687	9,873	6,261	1,687	9,873	6,261

Note: Source: ESS5: samples of low, middle, and high social trust
B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
[1] Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police
Significance levels: * 0.05 < *p* > 0.01, ** 0.01 < *p* > 0.001, *** *p* > 0.00
Model 4 with country dummies (not shown), excluded by the system: low trust: France, moderate and high trust: Germany

Table 43: Impact of police encounters, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Eastern Europe, in samples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust (linear multivariate regressions)

	Trust in the police in Eastern Europe											
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Social trust	low	moderate	high	low	moderate	high	Low	moderate	High	low	moderate	high
(Constant)	4.154***	5.199***	5.913***	2.003***	2.614***	2.819***	1.017***	3.077***	2.938***	1.244***	3.333***	2.868***
Police-initiated contact	-.393	-.375*	-.467	-.298	-.495***	-.394	-.312	-.336*	-.187	-.280	-.363**	-.183
1. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral)[1]												
Satisfied	.781*	.616**	1.338***	.628*	.792***	1.044***	.586	.683***	.933**	.592*	.718***	.923**
Dissatisfied	-1.279**	-.831***	-.874	-.791**	-.555**	-.439	-.749*	-.494**	-.476	-.795**	-.482**	-.452
2. Governmental trust												
Trust in politics				. 044**	.052***	.055***	.041*	.047***	.047***	.049**	.050***	.044***
Trust in the legal system				.617***	.518***	.494***	.619***	.511***	.502***	.612***	.504***	.498***
3. Control variables												
Female							-.141	-.016	.110	-.105	.003	.118
Age groups (ref: >59 years)												
14–25 years							-.517*	-.530*	-.352	-.633**	-.620***	-.371
26–39 years							-.327	-.205	-.176	-.366*	-.246**	-.189
40–59 years							.084	-.214*	.208	.039	-.248*	.205
Years of education							.288*	-.085	-.003	.275*	-.098	-.007
Citizen of country							.506	-.250	-.424	.633	-.206	-.266
Ethnic minority							-.305	-.377*	.425	-.129	-.255	.434
High income (ref: low)							-.017	.054	-.020	.027	.119	.014
High religiosity (ref: low)							.093	.243**	.181	-.051	.132	.196
Political orientation (ref: moderate)												
left							-.174	.071	.038	-.172	.069	.058
right							-.176	-.019	.020	-.151	-.018	.027
Life satisfaction (ref: low)							-.026	.231**	.207	-.084	.165*	.190
Criminal victimization							-.272	-.257*	-.644**	-.223	-.278*	-.704***
Fear of crime							-.106	-.343***	.061	-.052	-.283**	.089

Going out (ref: once/several times a month)												
up to once a month							-.017	.005***	.041***	.046	.032	.050
once or several times a week							.181	-.125	-.062***	.190	-.071	-.026
every day							.289	.100	.015***	.371	.223	.097
Place of residence (ref: big city)												
suburb							.227	-.127	.473***	.283	-.012	.461
town, small city							-.025	.195*	.069***	.000	.210*	.039
rural							.212	.157	.037***	.178	.175	.025
adj. R^2	.041	.022	.044	.423	.383	.421	.428	.400	.429	.439	.410	.427
N	1,130	2,652	956	1,130	2,652	956	1,130	2,652	956	1,130	2,652	956

Note: Source: ESS5: samples of low, middle, and high social trust
B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
[1] Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police
Significance levels: * 0.05 < *p* > 0.01, ** 0.01 < *p* > 0.001, *** *p* > 0.00
Model 5 with country dummies (not shown), excluded by the system: low trust: France, moderate and high trust: Germany

11 Summary

While instrumental approaches link attitudes towards the police with opinions of their effectiveness, theories of procedural justice focus on correct and fair behavior. Results of analyses at the macro level confirm that both confidence in police work and trust in police's procedural fairness correlate significantly with an overall trust in the police. This is true across countries, even though the variance is larger amongst Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. What's more, results also suggest that there are important correlations between social trust and trust in the police. Social trust correlates strongly with trust in the police across countries. Significant results are also found for confidence in the work of police and procedural justice. However, the correlation with people's opinion of police work in particular is weaker, with larger variations between countries.

Concerning institutional influences, trust in the police correlates positively, particularly with trust in legal institutions, but is also influenced by opinions of political institutions, in both Western and Eastern Europe.

Encounters shape people's perception of the police. People satisfied with treatment received in a police stop have higher trust in the police, in their procedural fairness, as well as higher confidence in their work. The asymmetry hypothesis stating that the negative impact of an unfavorable rating of a contact on trust in the police is stronger than the positive impact of a favorable evaluation is only confirmed for Eastern Europe. Contrary to expectations, in Western Europe, the positive impact is much stronger, while the negative impact has only very limited weight.

However, this perception differs when considering social trust. Overall, suspicious people not trusting their fellow men have a more negative opinion of the police compared to persons with high social trust. Additionally, in the West, suspicious people who experienced a police encounter have lower trust in the police than such people who were not stopped by the police. In the East, such a difference in trust in the police amongst people with low social trust is vice versa. The group of suspicious people that did not experience a police encounter has a more negative image of the police than those stopped by the police.

PART IV – THE PERCEPTION OF THE SWISS POLICE

12 Introduction

So far, at the European level, it has been shown that trust in the police is influenced by several factors, such as satisfaction with treatment received in an encounter. In order to test whether such relations hold in analyses for a single country, in-depth analyses for Switzerland will be conducted. Moreover, analyses will be enlarged taking victim-initiated contact into account as well.

Switzerland is a direct democracy with autonomous cantons that maintain their own police forces responsible for internal security and policing. Additionally, at the national level, the federal office of police coordinates local and cantonal activities and is responsible for the detection and prosecution of serious crimes at the federal government level (Schmoll, 1990, p. 95; Eisner & Killias, 2004; Bundesamt für Polizei fedpol, 2011). Since the interest of this chapter is again in the opinion of the police held by the public and by victims of crime in general, the differentiation between cantonal, urban, and communal police forces will not be considered. Analyses will be elaborated on nationwide.

After providing information on police research in Switzerland, an overview of the distribution of trust in and attitudes towards the police across Switzerland will be given. Analyses of attitudes towards the police will be elaborated upon using the dataset from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. In addition, the aspect of time is also considered, showing that the positive perception of the police is continuously growing over the years. Finally, encounters with the police will be analyzed, considering police- and victim-initiated contact.

13 Public Trust in the Swiss Police

13.1 Research Overview

Existing research about trust in and attitudes towards the police was already largely discussed in chapter 2.4.1: Research Overview in Part I. However, as previously mentioned, studies from Great Britain and the U.S. dominate the field. Hence, only a limited number of publications from smaller countries like Switzerland are available. Here, trust in the police has mainly been studied in a wider context of trust in governmental institutions. Furthermore, attitudes towards the police were part of some local surveys in the 1980s and early 1990s. With the invention of the Swiss Crime Survey in 1989, national analyses have also become possible. Other fields of research deal with new strategies in policing (Bänziger, 2014) or the role and impact of the media on the public's views of the police, and perceptions of police officers themselves (Meyer, 2010; Meyer, 2012). Overall, no nationwide, in-depth analysis taking trust in and attitudes towards the police into account, looking at police- as well as victim-initiated contact are known to date. In the following, several studies touching on parts of the topics included in this thesis will be described briefly.

Trust in the institution "police" is part of the annually published series *Sicherheit* (Safety) by the Center of Security Studies at ETH Zurich and the Military Academy at ETH Zurich. Trust is linked to questions of feelings of security by the Swiss population. Results from the latest round reveal that, amongst Swiss institutions, the police is trusted the most (7.6 on a 10-point scale), followed by the courts (7.1), and the Swiss Federal Council (6.7). The lowest level of trust is found for political parties and the media (5.3) (Szvircsev Tresch & Wenger, 2013, p. 101). Furthermore, the study shows that trust in the police correlates positively with an overall feeling of security, as well as with an optimism concerning the future of Switzerland. When considering socio-demographics, analyses of individual characteristics show that women have lower trust in the police than men. No significant influence was found for age, education, political orientation, income, or migrant background. A comparison with earlier findings points out that the Swiss population's trust towards the police has changed. Contrary to the current results, in the years between 1997 and 2012, no difference existed between males and females. Additionally, trust in the police correlated positively with age and political orientation at that time (the older and more rightwing, the higher the level of trust, Szvircsev Tresch & Wenger, 2013, pp. 102–105). Unfortunately, the study gives no further information and possible explanations as to why these results might differ from those of earlier years.

Early surveys that included questions about attitudes towards the police date back to the 1980s. In his PhD thesis about criminality in the Canton of Uri, Heinz Stadler found that women judged the work of the police worse than men did, which he explain

through different experiences with the police (Stadler, 1987). Age and social background, on the other hand, did not correlate significantly with attitudes towards the police. Furthermore, he discovered clear differences between victims' and non-victims' attitudes towards the police: Victims of crime clearly judged the work of the police worse compared to non-victims. In 1991, Viviane Roux conducted a study in the Canton of Valais. She found that the image of the police depended on the direct contact the population had with them. The more positive it was, the better the evaluation of the police work (Roux, 1991, p. 31). In the same year, Schwarzenegger (1992) did a survey on attitudes towards criminality and crime control in the Canton of Zurich. In the analyses of the work of the police in the community, he found that 46.6% of people of Zurich rate the work of the police as either good or very good; only about every tenth person was unsatisfied. In multivariate analyses, nine variables were determined as significantly influencing trust in the police. The strongest was the rating of the jails. In addition, a positive rating of the courts was linked to a better evaluation of the local police force. Other factors that played a role were an optimistic view of the world—people with an optimistic view having higher trust in the police—and fear of crime at home, which lead to lower trust in the police. Amongst socio-demographic variables, women had higher trust in the police than men, but the correlation was only weak. Age is not significant in multivariate analyses, even though a significant impact was found in bivariate analyses. The level of education had the strongest impact amongst the socio-demographic variables. People with a college degree (*Matura* in Switzerland) had the most critical opinion of the police. Finally, religion played a role as well. Members of the Catholic or other churches had a more positive attitude towards the police compared to members of Protestant churches. The most negative attitude was found amongst non-denominational people.

With the start of the Swiss Crime Surveys in 1989, questions about the police were asked for the first time in a national survey, leading to analyses of reasons for reporting to the police (Killias & Berruex, 1999) or reasons for dissatisfaction of crime victims with how their case was treated by the police (Killias et al., 2007). In the years that followed, studies were primarily done on a local level. For about ten years, the Cantonal Police of Zurich has been conducting annual written surveys of the satisfaction of victims with their first contact with the police. On this occasion, victims of burglaries, victims of violent crime, and persons involved in traffic accidents were interviewed alternatingly (Schwarzenegger & Baur, 2014). Results show high satisfaction levels overall. Concerning burglaries, positive effects are reported for a short waiting time of up to 30 minutes. Moreover, overall, elderly people are more satisfied with the work of the Cantonal Police than younger ones (Kantonspolizei Zürich, 2013). A primary indicator of satisfaction with the work of the police was personal behavior, such as conversational tone, perceived helpfulness, and empathy, as analyses of victims of violence show. Moreover, given information and advice on the

procedure played an important role as well (Kantonspolizei Zürich, 2012). A comparison of the three evaluation waves for 2004, 2008, and 2011 show a decline in the level of satisfaction, albeit at a high level (from 92.1% down to 87.2%). Besides, a survey in the Canton of Zurich in 2010 looks at juvenile's attitudes towards the police, based on pupils from 5th and 10th grades (Biberstein, 2010). Depending on the type of contact, juveniles evaluated the police more or less positively. When having been stopped by the police on the street, as well as having been in contact as either a victim or an offender, attitudes towards the police were statistically significantly more negative compared to juveniles reporting no such contact. In his PhD project, Lorenz Biberstein will conduct further analyses on juvenile's attitudes towards the police. He will shed light on an important aspect of police work in Switzerland, widely criticized by juveniles who perceive the police as controlling too much and too selectively, especially in the city of Zurich (Müller, 2013). With this information in mind, results will be displayed and discussed in the chapter below.

13.2 Overall Trust in the Police

13.2.1 Distribution amongst People and Region

Before elaborating on the question of how the experience of an encounter with the police influences people's perception of them, an overview of the distribution and frequency of Swiss citizens' trust towards the police will be given. Information on the state of the art could be helpful for classifying and understanding further results. When looking at the following results based on the Crime Survey 2011 it should be kept in mind that the question of trust in the police in Switzerland only allowed for an answer in the affirmative or the negative. No nuances, like those in the eleven-point scaled question in the European Social Survey ESS5, were possible.

Beginning with socio-demographics, it can be said that women show higher trust in the police than men (74.3% vs. 70.6%). This is also true for older age groups, especially for those older than 60, of whom more than two-thirds report a high level of trust in the police. However, trust in the police in Switzerland is overall high, and the rating amongst the youngest people interviewed—16- to 25-year-olds—is not too bad, with about 65% reporting that they trust the police (Table 44).

Table 44: Trust in the Swiss police according to age and gender

Trust in police	Age				Gender	
	(1) <26 years	(2) 26–39 years	(3) 40–59 years	(4) >60 years	Male	Female
yes	64.9 (1,673)	73.0 (3,299)	73.2 (3,299)	76.5 (3,207)	70.6 (5,570)	74.3 (5,890)
no	35.1 (905)	27.0 (1,220)	26.8 (1,203)	23.5 (9,084)	29.4 (2,316)	25.3 (1,996)
Total	100.0 (2,578)	100.0 (4,519)	100.0 (4,484)	100.0 (4,191)	100.0 (7,886)	100.0 (7,886)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample), percent, number of cases in brackets
Age: *** Sig. difference ($p < 0.001$) between (1)–(2)/(3)/(4), (4)–(3)/(2)
Gender: *** Sig. difference ($p < 0.001$)

Analyses of the ESS5 data differ from those above. They only confirm the correlation with age, showing that older people have higher trust in the police compared to younger people. No statistical influence was found for gender, education, or household income. On the other hand, people possessing Swiss citizenship have lower trust in the police compared to non-citizens. This result confirms earlier analyses, which showed that people born in Switzerland rate the police more negatively than immigrants, especially compared to those living in Switzerland for only a couple of years and coming from Mediterranean countries (Clerici & Killias, 1999). Clerici and Killias (1999) show that—contrary to findings in other countries—foreigners rate the police even higher than Swiss citizens, which might partly be explained by the fact that immigrants have negative views about and experiences with the police in their countries of origin, especially refugees from unstable countries at war or affected by other conflicts. Therefore, when they compare the behavior of Swiss police officers with those in their countries of origin, it is understandable that the Swiss Police are rated far better. In order to see whether different scaling causes these discrepancies in results, based on ESS5 data, cross-tabulations with dichotomized variables are calculated. Now, indeed, education has a significant positive effect on trust in the police like in the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. Furthermore, income relates positively to trust in the police. Additionally, the ESS5 data allows controlling for religiosity and political orientation. Religious people are found to have higher trust in the police. In addition, the more rightwing someone is in political orientation, the higher his trust in the police. When thinking about the person most likely to trust in the police the most, a picture of a well-educated, conservative, elderly woman emerges. Overall, results confirm the influence of socio-demographic variables on trust in the police and are consistent with research. The better image of the police amongst women and elderly people was widely confirmed by research (e.g. Percy, 1980; Brandl & Horvath, 1991; Cao et al., 1996; Schafer et al., 2003; Wu & Sun, 2009). Besides, Schwarzenegger (1992, p. 248) already showed that attitudes towards the police are more positive for religious inhabitants of Zurich. In addition, political orientation was shown to be influential, with conservative attitudes correlating with a positive opinion of the police (Cao et al., 1998).

Looking at regions next, results differ again between ESS5 and CS2011 data (Table 45). While the Eastern Part and the region around Lake Geneva show the highest levels of trust in the police, according to data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011, the Central Part and Northwest is listed at the top in the ESS5 data. In both data sets, the cantons of Zurich and Ticino, as well as the Northwest region show about the same trust levels. It is difficult to say what causes these differences. One possibility is the incompleteness of cantons in the Crime Survey 2011 data, due to the sampling procedure. In the Eastern Part for example, the Cantons of Glarus and Appenzell-Innerrhoden are missing. However, the region around Lake Geneva contains the same cantons in both

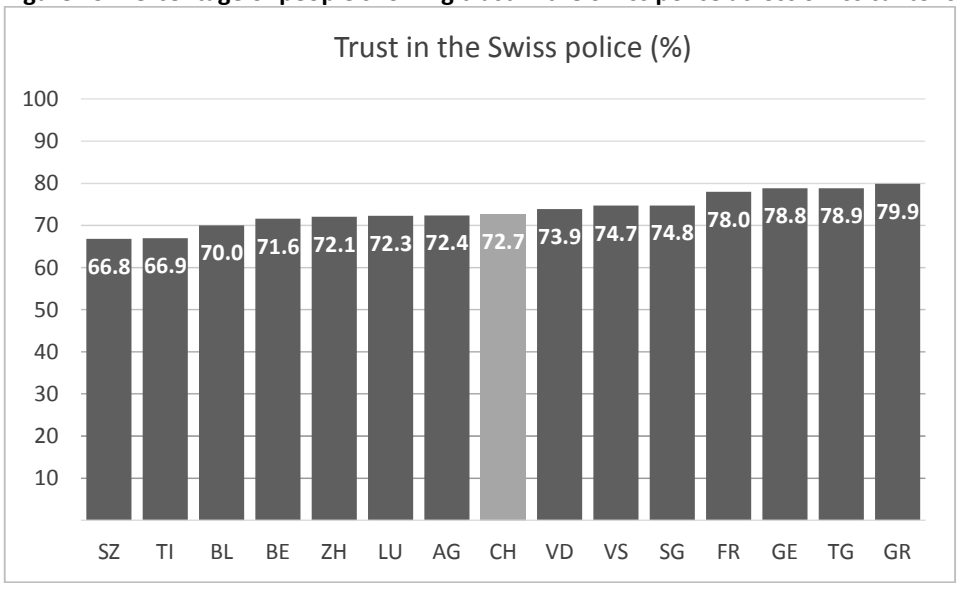
data sets. In the Swiss Crime Survey 2011, the random sampling is based on communes. Hence, a comparison of single cantons instead of regions might shed more light on the problem. Results reveal that within the region around Lake Geneva, the Canton of Geneva has a higher trust in the police compared to the Cantons of Vaud and Valais (78.8% vs. 73.9% and 74.7%, Figure 29). Within the Central Part, the Canton of Schwyz has a lower trust level than the Canton of Lucerne (66.8% vs. 72.3%). A comparison with results of the study of Clerici and Killias (1999) support the results of the Swiss Crime Survey 2011, with people of the German-speaking part being more critical towards the police than those in the French-speaking part.

Table 45: Differences in trust in the Swiss police between Swiss regions[33]

Region	CS2011	ESS5
Eastern Part	76.5 (228)	7.0 (249)
Region around Lake Geneva	76.0 (288)	6.8 (245)
Northwest	73.8 (203)	7.3 (208)
Central Part	73.8 (149)	7.5 (161)
Midlands	73.2 (323)	6.8 (355)
Zurich	72.0 (255)	7.2 (236)
Southern Part	66.7 (58)	6.8 (48)

Note: CS2011: National sample
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Missing cantons (due to sampling): Uri, Obwalden (Central Part); Glarus, Appenzell-Innerrhoden (Eastern Part)
ESS5: Mean values, number of cases in brackets

Figure 29: Percentage of people showing trust in the Swiss police across Swiss cantons



Note: Source: CS2011, national sample; only cantons with a sample >50 included

[33] The cantons included in the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 were counted together according to Eurostat regions. For more details, see chapter 5.2.3: Procedure for Switzerland.

13.3 Attitudes towards the Police

13.3.1 Confidence in the Work of the Police

The Swiss have a great deal of confidence in the work of the police. More than 80% report that the police are doing a good job in the country (Table 46). Therefore, the confidence in the work of the police is greater than the overall mean trust in the police (70.3%). While the confidence question in the ESS5 was directed towards the police as a whole, in the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 it explicitly asked about how good the police were fighting crime in the neighborhood[34]. Depending on the data, a different percentage of people rated the work of the police negatively. While overall police work is rated unfavorably by only 3.2%, clearly more people are dissatisfied with how the police are doing their job in the neighborhood (14.3%). Since only the ESS5 question includes a neutral answer option, the difference might be caused by the lack of this option in the Crime Survey 2011. However, studies examining the influence of such neutral options rather point to a real difference. Sturgis, Roberts, & Smith (2014) show that mostly those people who do not know the answer choose the neither/nor option. In their study, the responsiveness did not change largely when *don't know* as an answer category was explicitly given (such as in the ESS5).

Table 46: Local and national evaluation of police work in Switzerland

	Confidence in police work in…	
	neighborhood (CS2011)	country (ESS5)
very bad	2.4 (311)	0.7 (11)
bad	11.9 (1,528)	2.5 (38)
neither good nor bad		15.7 (235)
good	71.3 (9,183)	70.7 (1,057)
very good	14.5 (1,865)	10.4 (155)
Total	100.0 (12,887)	100.0 (1,496)

Note: Source: ESS5 and CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets

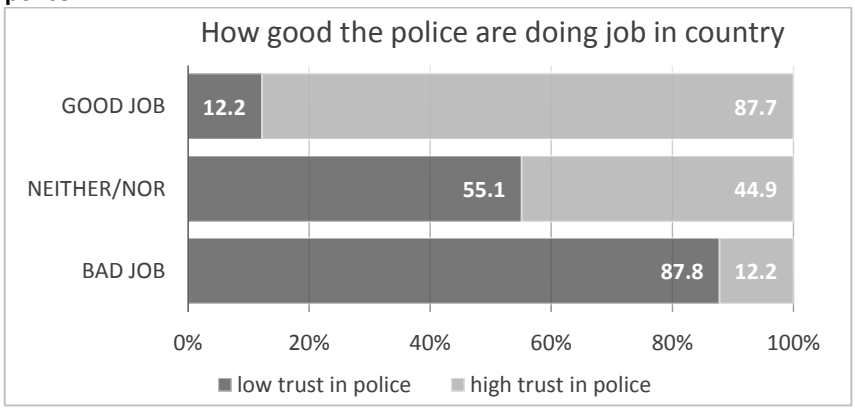
When recalculating the percentages for overall confidence in the work of the police excluding the neutral answers, the difference becomes more obvious. While 85.8% rate police's work in the neighborhood as good, the overall confidence reaches fully 96.1%. It can be followed that people differentiate between police work in general from that in the neighborhood, which is rated less good. This might be based

[34] Even if the wording changed slightly in 2010, the question still measures the same property as the one in the older surveys: Considering everything, how good do you think the police in your area are at controlling crime? Do you think they do a very good job, a good job, a poor job or a very poor job? (*Insgesamt betrachtet: Wie gut überwacht Ihrer Meinung nach die Polizei die Kriminalität in Ihrer Wohngegend? Leistet die Polizei… sehr gute, ziemlich gute, ziemlich schlechte, sehr schlechte Arbeit*).

on personal experiences. The question about how good the police are controlling crime in the neighborhood is probably easier to answer compared to control of the crime in the country as a whole.

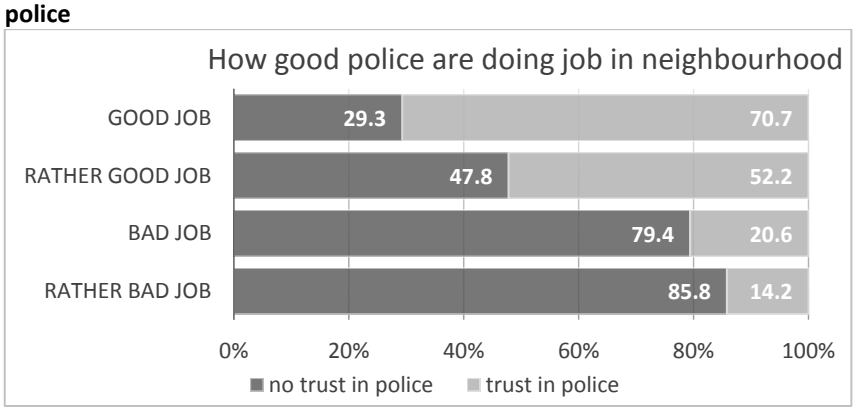
A good rating of the overall police work clearly goes hand in hand with an overall trust in the institution "police" (Figure 30). Close to 90% of those rating the work of the police in Switzerland very positively, trust in the police. Amongst those with negative attitudes, the same amount does not trust the police (87.8%). Similar results exist for the evaluation of police work in the neighborhood (Figure 31). Trust in the police is clearly higher amongst people who rate police work favorably (for both variables $p < 0.001$). Results confirm that attitudes about local police work significantly correlate with an overall trust in the police. Consequently, hypothesis 1.1, arguing that the better the rating of local police work in Switzerland, the higher people's overall trust and confidence in them, is confirmed.

Figure 30: Impact of confidence in national police work (ESS5) on trust in the police



Note: Percent; total numbers: bad job n = 49, neither/nor n = 234, good job n = 1,209
Significance level: $p < 0.001$

Figure 31: Impact of confidence in local police work (CS2011) on trust in the police



Note: Percent, total numbers: good job n = 1,865, rather good job n = 9,183, bad job n = 1,528, rather bad job n = 311, significance level: $p < 0.001$

The last wave of the Crime Survey in 2011 allows for going beyond this question of how good the police are doing their job in the country in general, as detailed questions about residents' perception of police work are included. Such information might be helpful in understanding people's trust in the police. Thus, I will not omit results, but rather describe them shortly[35].

Even if the majority of the Swiss population is satisfied with the presence of the police in the public (57.2%), more than 40% report that it is insufficient (42.8%, 9.2% non-responses). Especially elderly people and Swiss citizens statistically significantly wish for a higher police presence, compared to younger persons and non-Swiss citizens (results not shown). Contrary to this, the assistance by the police receives very good ratings overall. About three-quarters of the population report that the police assist, help, and listen to them if they have a problem. Only 3.3% are of the opinion that the police are not taking care of people (Table 47). Again, males and Swiss citizens are more critical than females and non-Swiss citizens. People are also satisfied with the time the police take to arrive on a crime scene: 43.4% report that the police are usually on site quickly, while 35.2% think that it depends on the situation (Table 48). Questions about changes in police presence and their work during the last three years preceding the survey (2008 until 2010) reveal that approximately every other person has not perceived any changes or improvements (Table 49, Table 50). Around 17% even perceive a decrease in the presence of the police and in the quality of their work. Again, the number of non-responses is high, with about 35% not answering the question. As it was directed towards an evaluation of police's visibility, according to the perceived number of police forces and officers, people that have not seen or met or even recognized them, either as foot patrol or motorized, will understandably have problems answering this question. As for the other attitudinal questions, females as well as residents that do not possess Swiss citizenship are more positive towards the police (results not shown). In this context, it is interesting to note that lawyers and representatives of the police claim that the number of police officers in Switzerland is too low (Mohler, 2013). However, newer statistics show an increase in number (Imbach, Widmer, & Tischhauser, 2013).

Table 47: Help and assistance by the police in the community

The police are…	
…very much there for the people	21.4 (2,434)
…rather there for the people	53.3 (6,055)
…not there for the people	21.9 (2,490)
…not at all there for the people	3.3 (373)
Total	100.0 (11,353)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Don't know/no answer: 28% (4,419)

[35] For more information and further results: Killias, Staubli, Biberstein, Bänziger, and Iadanza (2011b).

Table 48: Time until arrival after an emergency call

Time until arrival	
The police is normally on site quickly	43.4 (3,394)
It takes too long for the police to appear	21.3 (1,668)
It depends on the event	35.2 (2,754)
Total	100.0 (7,816)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Don't know/no answer: 50.4% (7,956)

Table 49: Opinions about changes in police presence

Police presence…	
…increased	34.3 (4,487)
…remained the same	48.0 (6,266)
…decreased	17.7 (2,311)
Total	100.0 (13,064)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Don't know/no answer: 17.2% (2,708)

Table 50: Opinions about changes in the quality of police work

The quality of police work…	
…improved much	4.7 (492)
…improved slightly	22.7 (2,398)
…remained the same	55.3 (5,831)
…worsened slightly	13.9 (1,462)
…worsened much	3.5 (367)
Total	100.0 (10,550)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Don't know/no answer: 33.1% (5,222)

All attitudinal variables mentioned relate statistically significantly to trust in the police ($p < 0.001$, Table 51). The better the rating of the police presence and the better the opinions regarding time until arrival after an emergency call, the better the overall trust in the police. Results reveal the largest discrepancy for attitudes towards the work of the police, especially their effectiveness. Only less than every third person who perceives that police work has worsened considerably trust in the police. Contrary to this, close to 90% of people who report a large improvement in the work of the police, trust in them. A difference also exists for time until arrival, with unsatisfied people showing 24% lower trust in the police compared to satisfied people. Negative views about the presence of the police also lead to lower trust levels, but the differences are smaller compared to attitudes towards the work of the police.

Table 51: Correlations between attitudes towards the police and trust in the police

	Trust in the police	
	yes	no
Help and assistance in the community: the police are…		
…very much there for the people	88.5 (2,154)	11.5 (281)
…rather there for the people	80.8 (4,893)	19.2 (1,162)
…not there for the people	53.2 (1,324)	46.8 (1,167)
…not at all there for the people	30.0 (112)	70.0 (261)
Time upon arrival		
the police are normally on site quickly	81.9 (2,781)	18.1 (613)
it takes too long for the police to appear	56.9 (949)	43.1 (720)
it depends on the event	69.6 (1,916)	30.3 (838)
Presence of police in public		
sufficient	78.4 (6,420)	21.6 (1,773)
insufficient	67.7 (4,143)	32.3 (1,978)
Change in police presence		
increased	77.5 (3,476)	22.5 (1,011)
remained the same	75.4 (4,724)	24.6 (1,542)
decreased	63.3 (1,463)	36.7 (848)
Change in quality of police work		
improved much	88.8 (437)	11.2 (55)
improved slightly	83.9 (2,012)	16.1 (386)
remained the same	74.3 (4,333)	25.7 (1,498)
worsened slightly	59.2 (865)	40.8 (597)
worsened much	30.5 (112)	69.5 (255)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Correlations for all items statistically significant ($p < 0.001$)

Attitudinal questions about the work of the police relate closely to an overall trust in the institution "police", as seen in this chapter. People dissatisfied with the presence of the police in the public and the quality of their work have lower trust compared to those who are satisfied. Such a correlation is even found for perceived changes in police presence and the quality of their work. Moreover, statistically significant correlations exist for response time, help, and assistance by the police, confirming hypothesis 1.1. Additionally, these results prove that evaluations of local police work correlate with overall attitudes towards them, confirming results of Brandl et al. (1994). Overall, Swiss citizens, men, and elderly people are less satisfied with how the police work, which is consistent with results found in other studies (Percy, 1980; Brandl & Horvath, 1991; Cao et al., 1996; Clerici & Killias, 1999; Schafer et al., 2003; Wu & Sun, 2009).

13.3.2 Procedural Fairness

The Swiss population clearly attributes the police with procedural fairness (Table 52). The police are perceived as treating people respectfully (87.5%), making fair decisions (82.8%), and explaining their decisions (75.5%). The largest rejection exists

for the explanation of decisions. About one in four respondents report that the police do not explain their decisions when asked. In addition, attitudes about police's procedural fairness correlate clearly with an overall trust in the police (Table 53). More than 93% of people who attribute procedural fairness to the police have high trust in them, while only about one in five respondents disagreeing strongly.

Table 52: Attitudes about police's procedural fairness

	Respectful treatment	Fair decisions	Explanation of decisions
not at all often	1.4 (20)	1.8 (26)	3.8 (53)
not very often	11.1 (164)	15.3 (217)	20.8 (291)
often	67.7 (996)	71.4 (1010)	62.1 (869)
very often	19.8 (292)	11.4 (161)	13.4 (187)
Total	100.0 (1,472)	100.0 (1,414)	100.0 (1,400)

Note: Source: ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets
Don't know answers: respectful treatment 2.3% (34), fair decisions 6.1% (92), explanation of decisions 6% (90); no one ever asks the police to explain their decisions: 1.1% (16)

Table 53: Crosstab of trust in procedural fairness and trust in the police

Procedural Fairness	Trust in the police
not at all often	21.4 (3)
not very often	47.0 (77)
often	83.1 (845)
very often	93.5 (129)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets
$p < 0.001$

People with very high trust in police's procedural fairness have an outstanding trust in the police. This is consistent with results found at the macro level in chapter 9: Macro Level Patterns of Trust in the Police, highlighting the importance of procedural justice, again clearly confirming assumption 1 that the better the rating of police's procedural fairness by a country, the higher its trust in the police.

13.4 Trends in Opinions

The biannual conduction of the European Social Survey allows tracking of the development of people's trust over the years. Results show that trust in the Swiss police has steadily risen since 1996 (Table 54). In 2010, the year that builds the basis for analyses in this thesis, more than 70% of the Swiss population said that they trusted their police. Recent results from 2012 included in the table as well show that this upward trend remains unbroken.

Table 54: Confidence and trust in the police in Switzerland over time

Year	WVS[1]	EVS[1]	ESS[2]	CS
1996	69.8			
2002			68.0	
2004			68.6	
2006			69.3	
2007	83.9			
2008		81.9	68.5	
2010			70.3	
2011				72.7
2012			71.6	

Note: Percent; no data available where no number is displayed (no surveys conducted in these years in Switzerland)
[1] Answers *a great deal* and *quite a lot* counted together
[2] Mean values

The use of different scales can partly explain the different percentage in the other data sources listed. While the four point Likert-scale items in the World Value Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS) allow for the use of dichotomized items, the mean values of the European Social Survey (ESS) are based on an eleven-point scale item. A further distinction is the wording. While the World Value Survey and the European Values Study ask for "confidence in the police"[36], the European Social Survey uses "trust in the police"[37]. However, an interchange of these notions is possible, at least for the survey in Switzerland, simply because no differentiation between trust and confidence exists in the German language, as seen in the translated questionnaires of these three surveys, speaking of *Vertrauen*[38]. Finally, the trust rate from the dichotomized question in the Swiss Crime Survey (CS) [39], at 72.7%, is about the same as the one from the European Social Survey (ESS) and therefore clearly lower than the very high percentage of over 80% found in the EVS and the WVS for 2007 and 2008.

The explicit question about trust in the police is only part of the newest round of the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. Hence, it does not allow for a comparison with earlier years. However, in the current as well as in earlier surveys, the question about resident's satisfaction with the control of crime in their neighborhood is included.

[36] WVS: I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? (World Value Survey, 2011, p. 8);

EVS: Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much confidence you have in them, is it a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all? (European Values Study, 2010, p. 15).

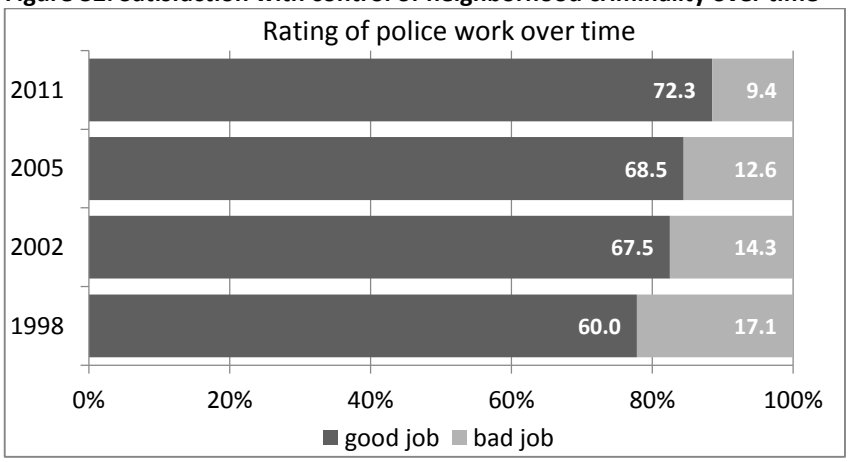
[37] ESS: Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust (European Social Survey ESS5, 2010b, p. 5)

[38] In French *confiance*, in Italian *fiducia*

[39] Which state institutions do you trust? Answers yes/no (*Welchen staatlichen Institutionen vertrauen Sie?*).

When comparing the rates, it becomes obvious that the satisfaction level increased continuously since the 1990s, with the lowest rate only 60% in 1998 (Figure 32). Additionally, the percentage of people who rate crime control in their neighborhood by the police as very bad in particular declined over the years from 3.5% (2002) to 2.9% (2005) to 1.6% in 2011. The rate of non-respondents, on the other hand, remained more or less stable, between 18% in 2011 and 18.9% in 2005 (results not displayed).

Figure 32: Satisfaction with control of neighborhood criminality over time



Note: Percent, sources: CS1998, 2002, 2005, 2011 (national sample)

A comparison of the 2010 rates for global trust and specific attitudes towards the police—overall trust in the police and ratings of how well the police are doing their job in the neighborhood—shows that they are nearly identical (70.3% mean trust and 72.3% good job, r_s = .258, p < 0.001). Coming back to the discussion about what best measures trust and attitudes towards the police (see chapter 1: Reflections on Research on Trust in the Police), two conclusions are possible. On the one hand, people might draw connections to local police forces in their neighborhood when they report their overall trust in the police. On the other hand, the two similar numbers in trust level might reflect two different levels of attitudes, but showing that people are rather satisfied with both, how the police are doing their job in their neighborhood as well as with the police as an organization or institution as a whole.

So far, an overview of trust in the police in Switzerland, considering personal and regional distributions and development over time, has been given. The next chapter elaborates on police-initiated contact. Analyses rest upon data from the European Social Survey ESS5, as no question about this form of contact with the police was included in the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. First, the relationship of trust in the police with trust in political and legal institutions will be elaborated on.

13.5 Influence of Governmental Trust

The institutional perspective perceives the police as a governmental institution amongst others. Does this hold true for Switzerland? A comparison of mean values of trust in governmental institutions reveals that order issuing institutions in particular achieve high trust levels with the police being trusted the most (70.3%), followed by the legal system (62.8%). Political institutions, on the other hand, are evaluated less favorably. In particular, trust in political parties is low in Switzerland (48.1%), followed by trust in politicians (50.1%), and the parliament (58%). These numbers are lower compared to those found in the security study by ETH Zurich (77% for the police and 71% for the courts, Szvircsev Tresch & Wenger, 2013). As shown in chapter 5.3.3.1: Governmental Trust, results for Switzerland are consistent with the results of the Western European cluster: The Swiss population perceives institutions similarly when it comes to their trust in them, which is especially true for political institutions. On the other hand, trust in institutions issuing order differs, which confirms the results of Rothstein & Stolle (2008) and shows that it is important to differentiate between institutions on the representational and those on the implementation side.

Results of linear regression analyses highlight the impact of trust in politics and trust in the legal system on trust in the police (Table 55). Again, as already seen in the Western European cluster, trust in legal system in particular is closely correlated to trust in the police, with an impact of B = .492 on the mean trust in the police. These two variables are strong indicators of trust in the Swiss police, already explaining more than 37% of its variance. As a consequence, they will be considered in further multiple linear regression analyses as control variables.

Table 55: Impact of governmental trust on trust in the police (linear multivariate regression)

	B	Beta (β)
(Constant)	3.168	
Trust in politics	.143***	.126
Trust in legal system	.492***	.533
R^2	.373	
N	1,336	

Note: Source: ESS5, coefficients of OLS-regressions, dependent variable: trust in the police
Significance level: *** $p < 0.001$

Nevertheless, nothing can be said about the influence of police encounters so far. Several theoretical approaches emphasize their importance for building institutional trustworthiness (Giddens, 1990; Hardin, 2002; Tyler & Huo, 2002). The next chapter elaborates on whether experiences with the police also affect overall trust in the police or whether they primarily influence attitudes towards the police as an organization. All analyses in the following chapter are based on data from the fifth wave of the European Social Survey (ESS5).

14 Police-Initiated Contact

14.1 Satisfaction with Treatment Received

Contact between residents and the police is dense in Switzerland: More than 40% of the population report that the police have approached, stopped, or contacted them (42.9%, 646 cases). Overall, people are satisfied with the treatment received: 67.2% report that they are satisfied or very satisfied, while about every fifth (20.8%) is dissatisfied (Table 56). 12% are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. The level of satisfaction is mirrored in relation to police's trustworthiness, with a positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police. Very satisfied persons have more than 20% higher trust in the police, while those satisfied still have 12.6% higher mean trust in the police (Table 57). Contrary to expectations based on the asymmetry hypothesis, negative evaluations of police contact do not lead to unfavorable ratings: Dissatisfaction with the police does not lead to a lower level of overall trust in them. Nevertheless, these results are consistent with those found above for Western Europe in general.

Table 56: Percentage of satisfaction with treatment received by the police in an encounter

Very satisfied	25.3 (163)
Satisfied	41.9 (270)
Neither/nor	12.0 (77)
Dissatisfied	9.6 (62)
Very dissatisfied	11.2 (72)

Note: Source: ESS5; sample of people being stopped by the police; don't know: n=2
Percent, number of cases in brackets

Table 57: Impact of satisfaction on trust in the police (linear multivariate regression)

	B	β	t
(Constant)	5.709		23.711
Satisfaction with treatment (ref: neutral)			
Very satisfied	2.026***	.390	6.898
Satisfied	1.262***	.277	4.609
Dissatisfied	-.015	-.002	-.042
Very dissatisfied	.624	.087	1.791
adj. R^2	.097		

Note: Source: ESS5; sample of people being stopped by the police
Coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police
Significance level: *** $p < 0.001$

The same is true for confidence in police work: Those dissatisfied with the police in an encounter are significantly less satisfied with how the police are doing their job in the country (Table 58). While 86.6% of those with positive opinions report that the police are doing a good or very good job, the rate is more than 20% lower amongst those who are dissatisfied with how the police treated them (63.9%). Even if this discrepancy is large, we should keep in mind that people rate the work of the police positively overall, with only a very low number of people denying this (27). The analysis confirms results found above for trust in the police. There is a statistically significant difference in confidence in police work between satisfied and dissatisfied people, which is weakened by the high number of people with impartial feelings. Even if the police disappoint people, these people do not lose their confidence in them completely. Consequently, rather than moving to the group that rate police work poorly (10.5%), such people rank within the group with impartial feelings (25.6%).

Table 58: Impact of satisfaction on confidence in police work

	Police doing good/bad job in country		
Satisfaction with treatment	bad	neither/nor	good
dissatisfied	10.5 (14)	25.6 (34)	63.9 (85)
neither/nor	2.6 (2)	36.8 (28)	60.5 (46)
satisfied	2.5 (11)	10.9 (47)	86.6 (374)

Note: Source: ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance level: *** $p < 0.001$

Does this positive picture also hold true for opinions of procedural fairness? Indeed, it does: The higher the satisfaction, the better the opinion of police's procedural fairness (Table 59). Of those who report being dissatisfied with how the police treated them, only 56% say that the police treat people in the country with respect, while the rate is more than 11% higher for people who are satisfied (67.4%). This discrepancy is even higher for opinions of fair decisions by the police: Fully 70.2% of satisfied people agree, while the amount is much lower for those who were dissatisfied (53.7%).

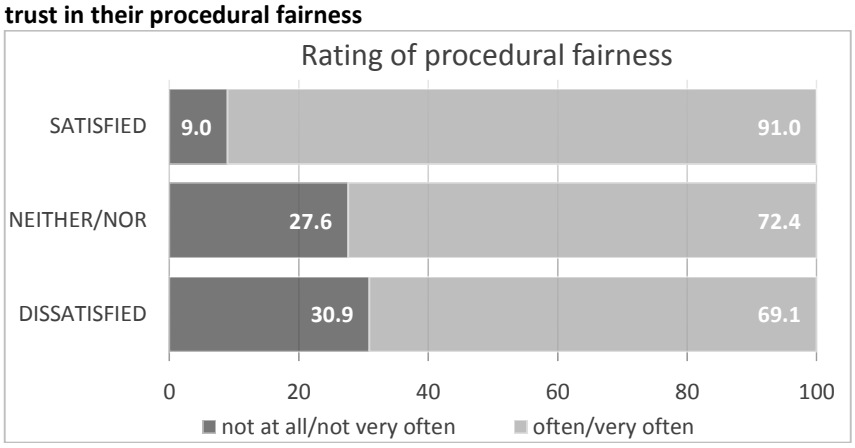
Table 59: Impact of satisfaction on trust in procedural fairness

	Respectful treatment***		Fair decisions***		Explanation of decisions***	
Satisfaction with treatment	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
dissatisfied	44.0 (59)	56.0 (75)	46.3 (62)	53.7 (72)	50.0 (67)	50.0 (67)
neither/nor	39.0 (30)	61.0 (47)	39.0 (30)	61.0 (47)	58.4 (45)	41.6 (32)
satisfied	32.6 (141)	67.4 (292)	29.8 (129)	70.2 (304)	39.3 (170)	60.7 (263)

Note: Source: ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance levels: *** $p < 0.001$

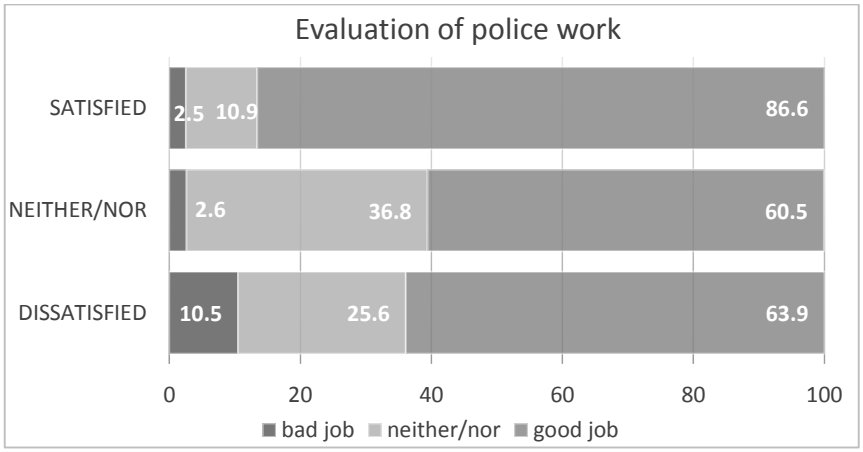
The differences become more visible when results are displayed graphically (Figure 33, Figure 34). Using the combined procedural fairness index, 91% of satisfied people rate the police as being fair and respectful. On the other hand, only about 60% of unsatisfied persons rate the police as exhibiting procedural fairness. While the relationship between procedural fairness and satisfaction is very strong, those with opinions of police's work are less clear. This is because very few people report that the police are not doing good work (4.2%), as already shown in Table 58 above. Therefore, dissatisfaction with the police leads to ambiguous feelings towards their work rather than to negative evaluations.

Figure 33: Impact of satisfaction with treatment received by the police on trust in their procedural fairness



Note: Percent, sample of people stopped by the police, n = 574 (dissatisfied n = 55, neither/nor n = 29, satisfied n = 167), significance level: $p < 0.001$

Figure 34: Impact of satisfaction with treatment received by the police on confidence in their work



Note: Percent, sample of people stopped by the police, n = 641 (dissatisfied n = 133, neither/nor n = 76, satisfied n = 432), significance level: $p < 0.001$

Unfortunately, the data does not include questions further specifying the type of contact, whether the police stopped ordinary people on the street or if the contact

happened after unlawful behavior, for example. Furthermore, the police might have contacted persons a second time, in order to ask further questions after a criminal victimization, for instance. As several studies show that negative experiences of crime victims in particular lead to poorer evaluations of the police (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Brandl & Horvath, 1991), a distinction between contact initiated by the police and those where crime victims approached the police is important. Therefore, crime victim encounters will be analyzed later on in chapter 15: Victim-Initiated Contact. First, the next chapter discusses the impact of social realities.

14.2 The Impact of Social Trust

Social trust has a large impact on trust in and attitudes towards the police in Western and Eastern Europe, as shown in chapters 9.2 and 10.4.2 (The Impact of Social Trust). In the West, the negative impact of low trust became even stronger in cases of police contact. In Switzerland, social trust also correlates positively with trust in the police, confidence in the work of the police, and with opinions of their procedural fairness (Table 60). The more positive someone judges fellow men's trustworthiness, fairness, and helpfulness, the more favorable his or her trust in and attitudes towards the police. Overall, the impact of opinions of others' trustworthiness is the weakest, only partly significantly correlating with attitudes towards the police.

While the influence of social trust on trust in the police is positive independently of having been in contact with them, its impact on judgments about the work of the police is stronger amongst people not stopped by the police. Moreover, others' trustworthiness counts much less than opinions of their fairness and helpfulness. Finally, coefficients are slightly smaller for procedural justice. The two groups of people stopped/not stopped by the police clearly differ according to procedural justice items. Contrary to confidence in the work of the police, the positive impact of social trust is stronger for those stopped by the police. Moreover, generalized trust only correlates positively for those who have been in contact with the police, while it does not seem to play a role for people who were not stopped by the police.

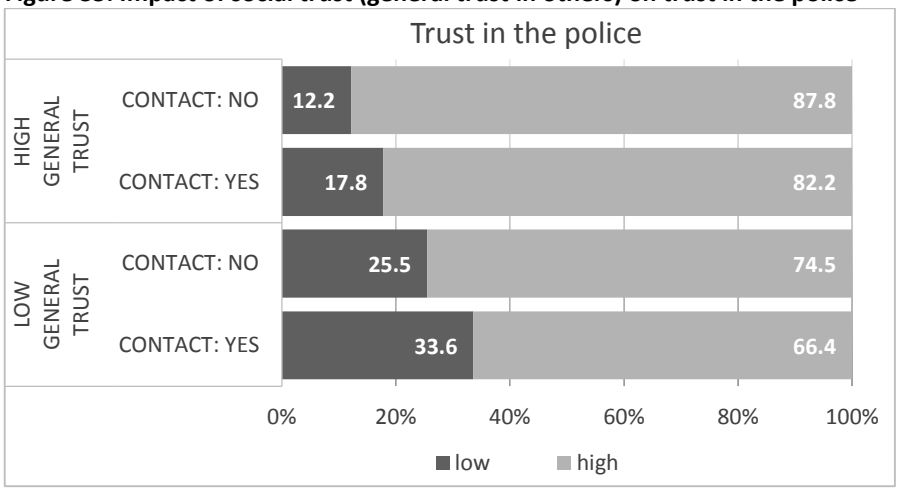
Table 60: Correlations between social trust, trust in, and attitudes towards the police

	Trust in the police		Confidence in police work		Procedural fairness	
Contact	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Social Trust						
generalized trust	.154***	.170***	.065	.071*	.114**	.037
general fairness	.193***	.195***	.117**	.173***	.175***	.127***
general helpfulness	.206***	.205***	.133**	.168***	.174***	.101**

Note: Source: ESS5
Pearson's (trust in the police) and Spearman's (attitudes towards the police) correlation coefficients
Significance levels: * $0.01 < p < 0.05$, ** $0.001 < p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

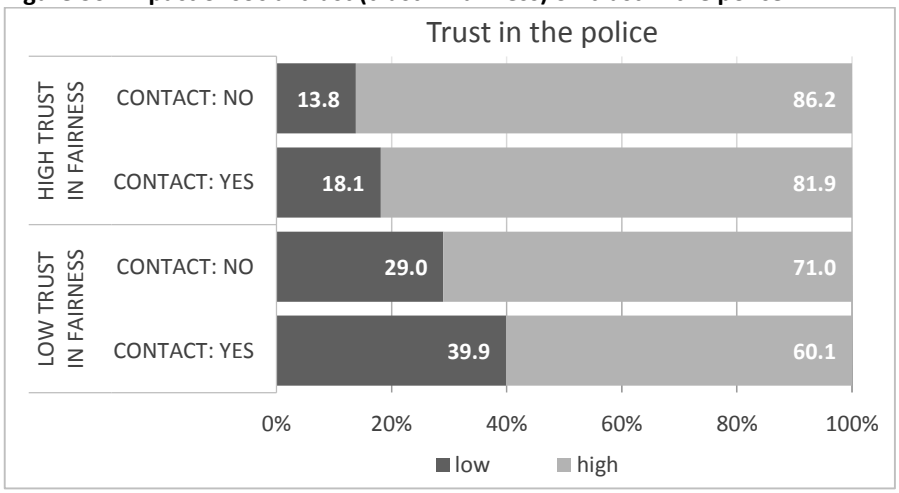
Despite the expected indifference of contact on trust in the police, cross-tabulation based on dichotomized items reveals that the impact of social trust on trust in the police differs between the two groups—people stopped/not stopped by the police—(results displayed as bar charts in Figure 35, Figure 36, and Figure 37).

Figure 35: Impact of social trust (general trust in others) on trust in the police



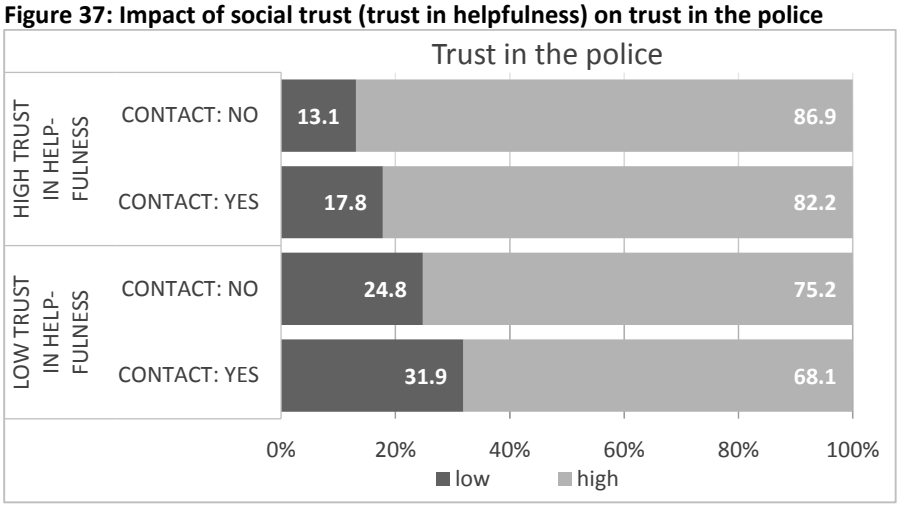
Note: Percent, total numbers: high trust n = 712, low trust n = 786
Significance levels: for both high and low general trust $p < 0.05$

Figure 36: Impact of social trust (trust in fairness) on trust in the police



Note: Percent, total numbers: high trust n = 734, low trust n = 762
Significance levels: high general trust $p < 0.05$, low general trust non-significant

Figure 37: Impact of social trust (trust in helpfulness) on trust in the police

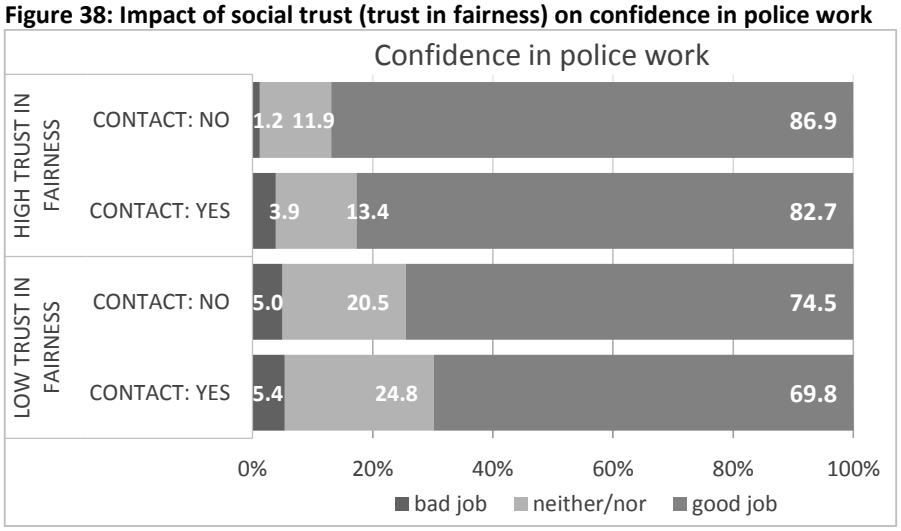


Note: Percent, total numbers: high trust n = 482, low trust n = 1'015
Significance levels: high general trust $p < 0.05$, low general trust non-significant

Overall, those persons stopped by the police have lower trust in them compared to those who were not in contact with the police. Moreover, people with low social trust have lower trust in the police compared to optimistic people. When comparing these numbers with those found for the correlations between social trust and overall confidence in the work of the police, it can be seen that people with high social trust in others evaluate police work above average, while those with low social trust gave below average ratings. Besides, people with contact experience rated the work of the police lower overall. The strongest link is found for people's general trust in others' fairness and the evaluation of police's procedural fairness (Figure 36). Here, suspicious people who were in contact with the police trust the police 10.9% less than those with no police contact. The difference for people who think of their fellow citizen as being generally fair is only 4.3%.

While the correlation between social trust and trust in the police is explicitly given, the impact on confidence in the work of the police is less clear. Differences between the contact and no contact groups for social trust and confidence in the work of the police are rather small. In addition, due to the small number of negative ratings, the impact for general trust is significant only in cases of no contact ($p < 0.05$). Therefore, only the figure for fairness will be displayed (Figure 38). People with high trust towards the fairness of their fellow men rate the work of the police more positively compared to suspicious people. Rates are higher compared to the ratings of the whole population (81.3%). The work of the police is rated more favorably overall amongst people not stopped by the police than amongst those who were in contact. The difference between suspicious and positive people is slightly larger in the non-contact group. Moreover, the difference in negative ratings between the two groups is smaller for suspicious people (5.4% vs. 5.0%, -0.4%) than for those with high trust in others' fairness (3.9% vs. 1.2%, -2.7%).

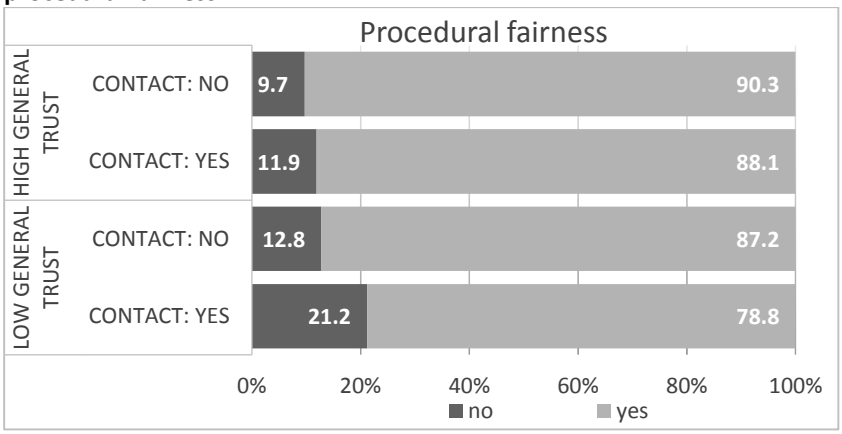
Figure 38: Impact of social trust (trust in fairness) on confidence in police work



Note: Percent, total numbers: high trust n = 480, low trust n = 1,011
Significance levels: high general trust non-significant, low general trust $p < 0.05$

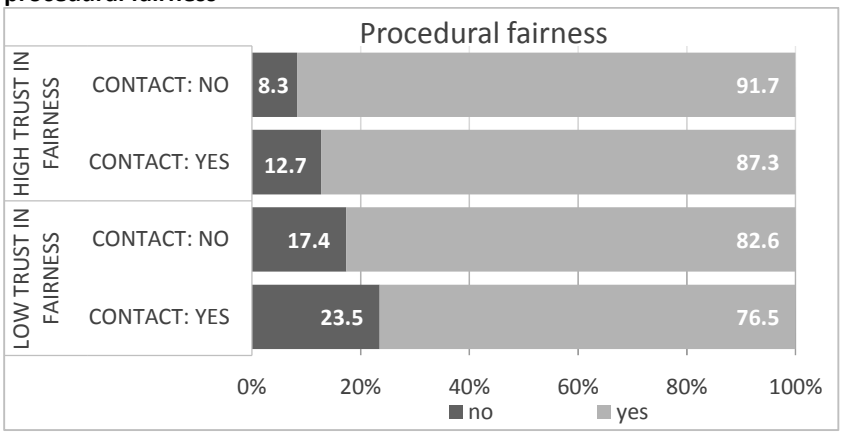
Of the Swiss population, more than 80% believe that the police use procedural fairness, while less than 20% do not attribute fairness and respectfulness to the police. When looking at the results achieved for social trust and procedural fairness, it can be seen that, within the non-contact groups, the difference is small between groups of people with low and those with high social trust, while it is larger for trust in others' helpfulness and especially in others' fairness (Figure 39, Figure 40, and Figure 41). As in the results above, suspicious people in particular attribute fair procedures to the police less often in cases where they experienced a police stop. For confidence in police work, the largest difference between people stopped/not stopped by the police is reported for trust in others' fairness. Contrary to these results, general trust in others reveals the largest difference for trust in police's procedural fairness. People who generally do not trust their fellow citizen strongly attribute procedural fairness to the police 8.4% less often in cases where they experienced a police encounter. However, even though larger differences are visible for suspicious people, results do not meet statistical significance for the contact group, except for general fairness ($p < 0.05$).

Figure 39: Impact of social trust (general trust in others) on trust in police's procedural fairness



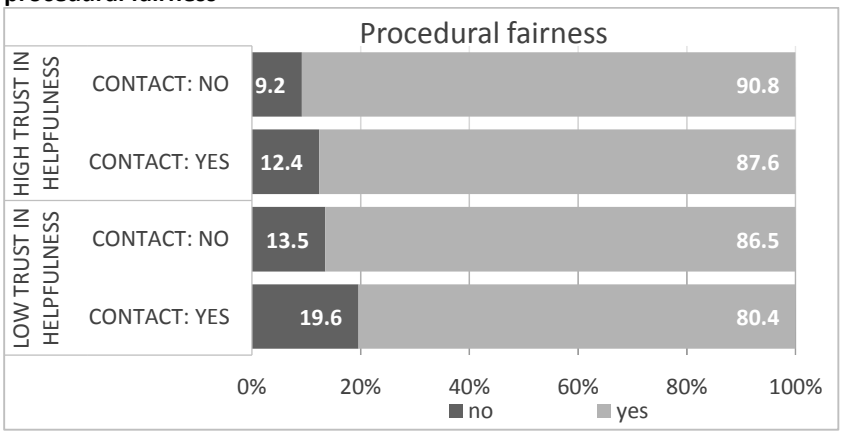
Note: Percent, total numbers: low trust n = 638, high trust n = 695
Significance levels: low general trust $p < 0.01$, high general trust non-significant

Figure 40: Impact of social trust (trust in fairness) on trust in police's procedural fairness



Note: Percent, total numbers: low trust n = 430, high trust n = 902
Significance levels: low general trust non-significant, high general trust $p < 0.05$

Figure 41: Impact of social trust (trust in helpfulness) on trust in police's procedural fairness



Note: Percent, total numbers: low trust n = 648, high trust n = 683
Significance levels: low general trust $p < 0.05$, high general trust non-significant

These results prove that the interaction between citizens and the police is perceived as a contact between two people instead of an interaction between citizens with "the police" in general. Hence, general negative feelings towards others are transferred to the police officer(s). The findings for Western Europe are proven. Moreover, results go further than existing studies, only showing that social trust has a positive impact on trust in institutions such as the police (Kaase, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Grönlund and Setälä 2012). For the first time, it could be shown that social trust has a positive impact on trust in and attitudes towards the police, especially in cases of police contact.

Before calculating the final model, considering all aspects found to be related so far, I will give some attention to possible individual influences. In the next chapter, based on research results, socio-demographic and other factors linked to a higher possibility of being stopped by the police are analyzed.

14.3 Individual Influences: Who Do the Police Stop?

In Switzerland, trust in the police is lower amongst females and young people, as shown in chapter 13.2.1: Distribution amongst People and Region. This is consistent with existing research. However, research results have also shown that such trust must take into account the circumstances surrounding police stops, as males, young people, those belonging to an ethnic minority, living in a big city, and those going out more often than average have a higher chance being stopped (see chapter 2.4.1.5: Individual Influences: Socio-Demographic and Other Factors). It can be concluded that it is important to test who was actually stopped by the police. Otherwise, there is a risk that results will be biased. Results for Switzerland show that there are differences. Pearson's chi-square test reveals that males are strikingly more often in contact with the police than females (50.1% vs. 35.5%); the same is true for young people between 14 and 25 years of age (Table 61, Table 62). While the police had approached 53.1% of those youngsters in the two years preceding the survey, the rate declines continuously with age. Amongst people older than 60 years, the police stopped only every third. Furthermore, differences became obvious for years of education completed (Table 63). Particularly those who only completed the obligatory school (six years of primary school and three years of upper school) are stopped by the police less often compared to those with nineteen or more years of education (39.3% vs. 57.6%). Financial aspects might partly explain this (Table 64). Lower income might not allow the lower class to spend their spare time going out often. Results show no influence for residence or belonging to an ethnic minority. The latter is good news for the Swiss police, sometimes accused of stopping people visually perceived as immigrants more often than "regular" Swiss people (Weber, 2011; Müller, 4.12.13). However, more in depth analyses would be needed in order to draw conclusions, for example controlling for neighborhood. Frequency and the type of police controls may be different in

neighborhoods burdened by crime—such as the *Kreis 4* in Zurich—from neighborhoods known to be safe. Switzerland is an immigrant country, with heterogeneous groups of foreigners, such as refugees from the Balkans and Northern Africa, working immigrants from Mediterranean countries or the EU. One reason for the 23% rate of foreigners is restrictive laws concerning citizenships (Bundesamt für Statistik BFS, 2014a; Bundesamt für Statistik BFS, 2014c). This is taken into account by including a question about citizenship, leading to the result that the police control Swiss citizens significantly more often than non-citizens (44.3% vs. 35.4%, $p < 0.05$, Table 65). However, it must be noted that, at 84.8%, non-Swiss are with clearly overrepresented.

Table 61: Police contact according to gender

	Contact	
Gender	yes	no
male	50.1 (386)	49.9 (385)
female	35.5 (260)	64.5 (472)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance level: $p < 0.001$

Table 62: Police contact according to age

	Contact	
Age	yes	no
(1) 14–25 years	53.1 (129)	46.9 (114)
(2) 26–39 years	49.8 (134)	50.2 (135)
(3) 40–59 years	45.0 (256)	55.0 (313)
(4) >60 years	30.1 (127)	69.9 (295)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance levels: * $0.01 < p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$
*** between (4)–(1)/(2)/(3), * between (1)–(3)

Table 63: Police contact according to years of education completed

	Contact	
Education	yes	no
(1) 0–9 years	39.9 (273)	60.1 (411)
(2) 10–12 years	45.4 (176)	54.6 (212)
(3) 13–18 years	43.6 (159)	56.4 (206)
(4) >19 years	57.6 (38)	42.4 (28)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance levels: * $0.01 < p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$
*** between (4)–(1)/(2)/(3), * between (1)–(3)

Table 64: Police contact according to income

	Contact	
Income	yes	no
low	38.7 (328)	61.3 (520)
high	48.5 (318)	51.5 (337)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance level: $p < 0.001$

Table 65: Police contact according to citizenship

	Contact	
Citizenship	yes	no
non-Swiss citizen	44.3 (565)	55.7 (709)
Swiss citizen	35.4 (81)	65.0 (148)

Note: Source: ESS5
Percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance level: $p < 0.05$

As shown in the tables above, the police stop young males more frequently than females. Young males may demonstrate conduct that is more often suspicious as well as a higher involvement in criminal activities, in combination with a certain lifestyle (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Results show that the more often someone meets with friends, the higher his or her chance of being stopped by the police (Table 66). Those meeting with friends every day have a 25.9% higher chance of being stopped by the police than those meeting up less than once a month ($p < 0.001$). More than half of those who reported going out every day had been stopped by the police, while that number was only about one quarter for those living more isolated and going out less than once a month. This result might shed light on the significant correlation found between income and police stops, with high-income people being stopped more often than low-income people (48.5% vs. 38.7%).

Table 66: Correlations between frequency of going out and police contact

		Approached, stopped, or contacted by the police during the last 2 years	
		no	yes
How often meet socially with friends, relatives, or colleagues	(1) less than once a month	72.3 (47)	27.7 (18)
	(2) once/several times a month	58.8 (211)	41.2 (148)
	(3) once/several times a week	57.7 (512)	42.3 (376)
	(4) every day	46.4 (90)	53.6 (104)

Note: Source ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets
Significance levels: * $0.05 < p > 0.01$, ** $0.01 < p > 0.001$, *** $p > 0.001$
* between (2)–(1), **between (4)–(2), ***between (3)–(1)/(2), (4)–(1)/(3)

Looking at regional differences next, the Northwest part of Switzerland is listed as the region with the highest frequency of police stops, followed by the Canton of Ticino and the Zurich region (Table 67). While only about every third (35.1%) inhabitant of

the region around Lake Geneva in the French-speaking part of Switzerland was stopped by the police during the last two years preceding the survey, in the Northwest of Switzerland it was more than every second (54.6%). Reasons for this discrepancy remain unclear. A different density in police personnel or a different police culture might be the cause. The high number of stops in the Canton of Zurich is understandable, given that Zurich is Switzerland's largest city, where a growing nightlife culture leads to a higher number of alcohol-related problems and criminal activities, such as assaults, brawls, thefts of wallets, handbags, and mobile phones (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2013). The police respond by mobilizing more police officers and by creating a special "Night Police" (Gyr, 2013; Roshard, 2013) [40].

Table 67: Frequency of police stops in different Swiss regions

	Approached, stopped, or contacted by the police within the last 2 years	
	yes	no
Region around Lake Geneva	35.1 (86)	64.9 (159)
Midlands	37.7 (134)	62.3 (221)
Central part	42.9 (69)	57.1 (92)
Eastern part	44.6 (111)	55.4 (138)
Zurich	46.2 (110)	53.8 (128)
Southern part	47.9 (23)	52.1 (25)
Northwest	54.6 (113)	45.4 (94)

Note: Source: ESS5, percent, number of cases in brackets

14.4 Encounters and Trust in the Police

Significant differences concerning the chance of being stopped by the police are found for males and females, age groups, Swiss citizenship, level of education, income, and the frequency of going out. There is no equal distribution in the sample. Hence, I will consider these results in further multivariate analyses by their inclusion as control variables.

After considering all the results found so far, the question remains whether the positive impact of satisfaction on the evaluation of the police remains after controlling for social trust and socio-demographic variables. A multiple linear regression analysis allows consideration for all items found to have an influence so far. Results highlight the importance of encounters: In all calculated models, people stopped by the police have much lower trust in the police than those not contacted (Table 68). Moreover, favorable contact ratings contribute to a positive image, while negative experiences are not statistically significant. After the inclusion of several explanatory variables

[40] In the meantime, the parliament of Zurich did not endorse money for such a night police, due to budget constraints. However, the responsible are willing to create it by saving money in other departments (Schmid, 2013; Neuhaus, 2013).

(Model 4), satisfied people still have 13% higher trust in the police compared to those groups showing neutral feelings (*B* = 1.296). The influence of dissatisfaction, on the other hand, is lower and still not statistically significant. This suggests that a positive experience with the police is a robust predictor of positive opinions of them independently of other characteristics known to also have an influence on the trust building process. Moreover, results are consistent with those of the Western European cluster.

Furthermore, results again confirm the positive influence of social trust on global trust in the police. Social trust partly explains favorable ratings of the police, clearly reducing the positive values between Model 1 and 2 (from 1.743 to 1.586 and from 1.000 to .860), while the reduction in the values of dissatisfaction is smaller. When taking other institutional items of trust in the law and in politics into account in Model 3, the influence of social trust is clearly reduced but still meets statistical significance. Finally, in Model 4, control variables reveal a positive opinion of the police for elderly people satisfied with life (*B* = .368) and politically settled on the right side of the scale (*B* = .273). The younger people are, the lower their trust in the police. Moreover, education leads to a more critical opinion of the police: The more years of education someone has completed, the lower his or her trust in the police (*B* = -.211). At the same time, Swiss are more critical towards the police, i.e. they trust in the police less than people not possessing Swiss citizenship (*B* = -.468). Further negative impacts are found for socially marginalized people meeting up with friends or colleagues less than once a month (*B* = -.569), as well as for those living in the region of Zurich (*B* = -.368). This is compared to people living in the Central part of Switzerland, found to have the highest trust values across Switzerland.

The final model explains 43% of the variance of trust in the police. Standardized values of model 4 reveal the largest explanation force for “trust in the legal system” (β = .568), followed by “very satisfied” (β = .204). This confirms that opinions of the institution “police” are closely linked to opinions of justice as a whole. Moreover, very positive experiences with police officers strengthen opinions of the institution “police” as a whole.

After elaborating on the types of contact initiated by the police, in the next chapter, victim-initiated contact will also be considered. All results in the chapter will be based on data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011, as no such questions are included in the European Social Survey. In order to have enough cases, analyses are again based on the full sample.

Table 68: Impact of police encounters, social trust, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Switzerland (linear multivariate regression)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	
				B	β
(Constant)	7.234***	5.348***	3.161***	4.198***	
1. Police-initiated contact (ref: no)	-1.234***	-1.116***	-.981***	-.861***	-.208
2. Satisfaction with treatment received (ref: neutral)[1]					
very satisfied	1.743***	1.586***	1.464***	1.296***	.204
satisfied	1.000**	.860***	.754***	.695***	.130
dissatisfied	-.471	-.466	-.141	-.113	-.011
very dissatisfied	.392	.249	.679*	.655	.065
3. Social trust (0–10)		.317***	.136***	.107**	.086
4. Governmental trust (0–10)					
Trust in politics			.000	.000	-.001
Trust in the legal system			.507***	.519***	.568
5. Control variables					
Female (ref: male)				.043	.011
Age groups (ref: >59 years)					
14–25 years				-.586**	-.093
26–39 years				-.440**	-.085
40–59 years				-.421***	-.101
Years of education				-.211*	-.050
Citizen of country (ref: no)				-.468**	-.080
Ethnic minority (ref: no)				-.089	-.011
High income (ref: low)				-.011	-.003
Religiousness (ref: low)				.043	.010
Political orientation (ref: moderate)					
left				-.179	-.040
right				.273**	.064
Life satisfaction (ref: low)				.368*	.047
Criminal victimization (ref: no)				-.047	-.008
Fear of crime (ref: no)				.062	.010
Going out (ref: once or several times a month)					
up to once a month				-.569*	-.056
once/several times a week				.116	.028
every day				-.026	-.004
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)					
agglomeration				-.194	-.029
town, small city				-.079	-.016
rural				-.016	-.004
Region (ref: Central part)					
Region around Lake Geneva				-.333	-.061
Midlands				-.228	-.048
Northwest				.172	.030
Zurich				-.368*	-.066
Eastern part				-.112	-.019
Southern part				.003	.000
adj. R^2	.053	.117	.398	.430	
N	1,194	1,194	1,194	1,194	

Note: Source: ESS5, full sample (n = 1,194); coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police

[1] Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police

Durbin-Watson = 2.059

Due to heteroscedasticity, Model 4 was re-calculated with adjusted standard errors; 'very dissatisfied' became non-significant, and 'social trust' reached only a *p*-level < 0.01 instead of $p < 0.001$

Significance levels: * $0.01 < p < 0.05$, ** $0.001 < p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

15 Victim-Initiated Contact

According to data from the European Social Survey ESS5, 16.2% (243) of the Swiss population was a victim of a burglary and/or an assault between 2006 and 2010. According to Swiss Crime Survey 2011 data, rates are similar when victimization rates of burglary and assault are added up (17.7%, Table 69). As the ESS5 data does not allow for any further distinctions between different forms of criminal victimization, data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 is used to fill this gap. While about every third Swiss person was a victim of bicycle theft between 2006 and 2010, numbers of vehicle thefts (cars, motorbikes) are clearly lower (2.8%). The same is true for robbery (2.5%).

Table 69: Prevalence rates (2006–2010): according to different modes of victimization

Vehicle theft	2.8 (449)
Theft from a vehicle	9.2 (1,128)
Bicycle theft	29.3 (3,785)
Theft	16.4 (2,591)
Burglary	7.3 (1,145)
Attempted burglary	6.6 (1,044)
Robbery	2.5 (393)
Sexual offence	3.0 (473)
Assault	10.4 (1,648)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets

15.1 Differences in Nature of Victimization

Criminal victimization is a serious event, affecting people's well-being to a great extent, especially in cases of violent crime. Such a crime can lead to a disruption in people's trust in the police in terms of failing to fulfill their duties of properly fighting crime. Results confirm that crime victims have lower trust in the police compared to non-victims. This is true for both crime against property and crimes against the person, such as robbery, assault, or sexual offences (Table 70). The rate of trust in the police of non-victims is about 73%, while only about half of those whose car or motorbike was stolen reported trusting the police (55.1%). Clearly lower levels of trust are also reported for victims of sexual offences (61.3%), assaults (62%), or attempted burglary (63.1%). Other offences against property, such as thefts or burglaries seem to lead to lower levels of trust but are not that strongly destructive with regard to police's trustworthiness. Results partly support studies where victims of crimes against the person had a less favorable opinion of the police (Killias, 1989).

Table 70: Victims' trust in the police: according to different modes of victimization

	Trust in the police
Vehicle theft	55.1***
Sexual offence	61.3***
Assault	62.0***
Attempted burglary	63.1***
Theft from a vehicle	66.0***
Theft	67.2***
Burglary	67.9***
Bicycle theft	69.1***
Robbery	69.5

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent of four-year-prevalence rates (2006–2010)
Significance level: *** $p < 0.001$

In hypothesis 4.4, I supposed that victims of crimes against the person have lower trust in the police compared to victims of crimes against property. Results confirm this only partly. Low trust in the police amongst victims of vehicle theft suggests that no clear difference in trust levels exists between victims of crime against the person and victims of crimes against property. It might well be that these variations are based on different experiences with the police. The interaction with the police of someone whose bicycle was stolen might be marginal, resulting in eventually reporting the offence. Furthermore, the chance that the stolen bike will be found and returned to the owner is small. A car or motorbike, on the other hand, is more valuable. Hence, such victims have higher expectations towards the police, hoping to get their stolen goods back. In order to shed light on this possibility, the rates of reporting will be analyzed next. Moreover, the difference in police trust is only marginal between victims of robbery and non-victims and does not meet statistical significance. Reasons may lie in a high level of satisfaction with the treatment received. It might also be that robbery victims belong to a certain group, such as young people robbed at night while going out. The low influence of the victimization on trust in the police might stem from their involvement, in a group also attacking others, for example. However, further analyses shedding light on this possibility would go beyond the scope of this thesis. Another possibility is that robbery victims were satisfied with the treatment received by the police. This eventuality will be analyzed in chapter 15.3.

15.2 Reporting to the Police

The level of reporting a criminal offence to the police varies widely between different kind of offences in Switzerland, as shown in Killias & Berruex 1999; Killias et al. 2011b, for example. Results confirm those of the aforementioned studies: highest

rates of reporting exist for burglary (79.7%), as well as for vehicle thefts (73.5%, Table 71)[41]. Contrary to this, offences against the person are rarely reported. Only every fourth victim of an assault, for example, has reported the offence to the police, and only one victim of a sexual offence. In cases of sexual offences, people might be ashamed. Moreover, the chance that the offender will be convicted might be evaluated as low, despite the fact that the solve rate is much higher for offences against the person than against property[42].

Table 71: Reporting to the police over a number of years: according to different modes of victimization

	Reported to the police			
	1989[1]	2000[2]	2005[2]	2010
Vehicle theft (car, motorbike)	94.0	91.7	93.3	73.5 (25)
Theft from a vehicle	-	71.0	-	46.1 (41)
Bicycle theft	84.0	68.5	60.1	57.5 (122)
Burglary (dwelling)	79.0	73.1	68.0	79.7 (68)
Attempted burglary	-	45.0	-	36.0 (32)
Theft (personal larceny)	42.0	45.0	-	43.4 (93)
Robbery	67.0	59.4	31.3	44.6 (17)
Sexual offence		10.0	18.8	- (1)
Assault	26.0	32.0	22.4	24.1 (43)

Note: Source: CS2011 (national sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets for the year 2010 (not available for other years)
Sources of numbers of earlier Crime Surveys: [1] Killias, 1991, [2] Killias et al., 2007

When looking at the trends since 1989, it is interesting to note that in 2010 the rate of reported burglaries was, at 79.7%, about the same as back in 1989 (79%), while it decreased in the years in between. On the other hand, robbery reporting rates declined steadily, down to a very low level of only 31.3% in 2005, increasing again in 2010 (44.6%). Major changes in reporting also exist for vehicle thefts, where the reduction since 1989 is more than twenty percent. In addition, bicycle thefts were reported less often in 2010 (-26.5% from 1989). However, due to the small number of cases, interpretations of changes should certainly be treated with caution. One possible explanation for the decline in reporting the offence with the largest number of cases—vehicle thefts—might be the increase of such thefts, at least found between 1999 and 2004 (Killias et al., 2011a, p. 10), related to a possible lower solve rate. Moreover, bicycles were of a greater value to the owner back in 1989, leading to a stronger feeling of loss, while bicycles have become affordable for everyone in recent years. Furthermore, results show that reporting an offence has no significant impact on trust in the police, confirming hypothesis 4.5: Reporting to the police does not

[41] In order to be able to compare with results from earlier years, analyses are based on data of the weighted national sample here.

[42] The 2013 solve rates are as follows: rape 77.6%, bodily harm (mean value of heavy and light offences) 78.1%, assault 82.4%, thefts (without vehicle thefts) 16.2%, robbery 33.8% (Bundesamt für Statistik BFS, 2014d).

correlate with trust in the police. Hence, the argument that reporting to the police is more dependent on personal attributes, such as the age in cases of violent crime (Simonin & Killias, 2003) or the amount of damage in cases of burglaries (Killias & Berruex, 1999), than on the existing image of the police is supported. However, the direction of causation remains unclear. It might well be possible that people's trust in the police affects their reporting behavior. Suspicious people would probably refrain from reporting an offence more often than people with high trust in the police. In the following, I will elaborate on victims' satisfaction with how the police have treated their case.

15.3 Satisfaction with Treatment and Information Policy

Those victims who reported their cases to the police were satisfied with the treatment received overall (Table 72). While victims of burglaries and attempted burglaries in particular seem to be positive (81.3%, 84.8%), low satisfaction rates are found for assault (58.7%). One source of victims' dissatisfaction is the information policy of the police. Only between 46.4% and 59.8% of victims of a crime received information about further steps (Table 73). Of those not informed, the majority express the wish to be informed about proceeding steps. This is especially true for victims of a robbery (73%) but also for victims whose car or motorbike was stolen, or who had something stolen out of their car (69%).

Criminal victimization is a serious event, leading to uncertainty and mental health problems in the vast majority of cases. Low self-esteem and increased fear of crime may be the outcome. Amongst victims of crime, consequences found are anxiety, depression, suicidal behavior, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), especially amongst victims of violent crime (Ruback & Thompson, 2001). In addition, burglary has a serious effect on feelings of security (Maguire, 1980). Victims contacting the police are therefore in a situation of uncertainty, looking for help. This requires certain sensitivity on the side of the police officer dealing with the case. Results clearly confirm how important the behavior of the police in such circumstances is: Dissatisfaction clearly leads to a lower level of trust in the police (Table 74). Contrary to expectations, this is not only true for more serious cases of crimes against the person, but also for all offences against property included in the survey. Dissatisfied victims whose possessions were stolen out of a car or motorbike, trust in the police in 46.6% of cases, while the rate for satisfied victims is about 20% higher (76.1%). The significant differences between satisfied and dissatisfied victims' trust in the police are at least 20% (for thefts) and go up to 31% in cases of burglaries.

Table 72: Victims' satisfaction with treatment received by the police according to different modes of victimization

	Satisfied with treatment of case	
	yes	no
Assault	58.7 (105)	41.3 (74)
Vehicle theft	69.4 (84)	30.6 (37)
Robbery	71.7 (66)	28.3 (26)
Sexual offence	73.3 (11)	26.7 (4)
Theft from a vehicle	76.4 (188)	23.6 (58)
Bicycle theft	77.9 (809)	22.1 (229)
Theft	79.3 (447)	20.7 (117)
Burglary	81.3 (283)	18.7 (65)
Attempted burglary	84.8 (140)	15.2 (25)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample)
Percent, number of cases in brackets

Table 73: Information policy according to different modes of victimization

	Further information received		Wish for further information (no information received)	
	yes	no	yes	no
Assault	46.4 (83)	53.6 (96)	55.2 (48)	44.8 (39)
Attempted burglary	47.6 (78)	52.4 (86)	46.3 (37)	53.8 (43)
Burglary	48.8 (167)	51.2 (175)	57.2 (95)	42.8 (71)
Theft from a vehicle	53.8 (129)	46.3 (111)	69.1 (67)	30.9 (30)
Robbery	56.4 (53)	43.6 (41)	73.0 (27)	27.0 (10)
Bicycle theft	56.8 (581)	43.2 (441)	53.7 (211)	46.3 (182)
Theft	58.9 (327)	41.1 (228)	50.7 (106)	49.3 (103)
Vehicle theft	59.8 (73)	40.2 (49)	68.9 (31)	31.1 (14)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample), percent, number of cases in brackets
Results for sexual offence not displayed due to low amount of numbers (10 cases)

While satisfaction with treatment influences the level of trust in the police overall, confirming procedural justice theories, information policy is also found to be important, analogous to existing research (Skogan, 1989; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Bradford et al., 2009). However, the sole information itself is only statistically significant in cases of bicycle thefts and burglaries. The number of informed burglary victims' trust in the police is even larger than the average trust in the police of the Swiss population (79% vs. 72.7%). Whether non-informed victims report a need for information or whether they say that it was not necessary is of great importance. Amongst those that would have wished to be informed, the number of individuals with a high level of trust in the police is significantly lower compared to those who report that there was no need for further information (Table 74). Again, the largest discrepancy in trust in the police is found for victims of attempted burglaries (33.9%). On the other hand, victims of thefts from a vehicle without a need for further information trust the police about the same as the average population (84%), while

the number is again much lower against those with an unsatisfied need for information (59.7%).

Table 74: Impact of police contact on trust in the police according to different modes of offences against property

	Trust in the police ("yes")					
	Satisfied with treatment of case		Further information received		Wish for further information (no information received)	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Vehicle theft	64.8 (59)*	45.5 (25)	61.7 (50)	52.3 (34)	59.3 (67)	50.0 (17)
Attempted burglary	70.7 (99)**	40.0 (10)	71.8 (56)	58.1 (50)	40.5 (15)**	74.4 (32)
Theft	72.0 (322)***	50.4 (59)	69.1 (226)	65.4 (149)	54.7 (58)**	74.8 (77)
Burglary	73.5 (208)***	41.5 (27)	79.0 (132)***	55.4 (97)	47.4 (45)*	64.8 (46)
Theft from a vehicle	76.1 (143)***	46.6 (27)	71.3 (92)	65.8 (73)	59.7 (40)*	83.3 (25)
Bicycle theft	77.8 (629)***	51.5 (118)	76.9 (477)***	63.7 (288)	59.7 (126)*	70.3 (128)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample), questions were directed to the last incident within the years 2009 and 2010
Percent of those that trust in the police, number of cases in brackets
"Don't know/no answer" treated as missing
Significance levels: * 0.05 > p > 0.01, ** 0.01 > p > 0.001, *** p < 0.001

When looking at offences against the person next, the very high percentage of trust in the police amongst satisfied robbery victims attracts attention: More than 85% of victims who report being satisfied with how the police treated them trust in the police, while the number is significantly lower for unsatisfied victims (Table 75). Contrary to this remarkably high trust, the low trust level of unsatisfied victims of assault sticks out (39.2%). Furthermore, an information policy perceived as negative leads to even worse attitudes towards the police. Trust in the police amongst non-informed victims of an assault with the need for further information is only around 30%. No statements can be made about sexual offences, as the low number of 25 cases reported to the police leads to an even lower number of cases in follow-up questions, which does not allow for testing of the influence on trust in the police.

Table 75: Impact of police contact on trust in the police according to different modes of offences against the person

	Trust in the police ("yes")					
	Satisfied with treatment of case		Further information received		Wish for further information (no information received)	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Robbery	86.4 (57)*	65.4 (17)	84.9 (45)	70.7 (29)	66.7 (18)	70.0 (7)
Assault	76.2 (80)***	39.2 (29)	71.1 (59)**	51.0 (49)	31.3 (15)***	69.2 (27)

Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample), percent, number of cases in brackets
"Don't know/no answer" were treated as missing
Significance levels: * 0.05 > p > 0.01, ** 0.01 > p > 0.001, *** p < 0.001

It can be concluded that negative experiences with the police of victims whose possessions were stolen lead to a reduction in trust in the police, while the police, on the other hand, can gain trustworthiness when treating victims of robberies and assaults correctly. Thus, results confirm findings from other studies (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Brandl & Horvath, 1991). Moreover, hypothesis 4.6—victims satisfied with how the police have treated their case evaluate them better than those being dissatisfied—is confirmed as well.

16 Summary

Trust in the police is very high in Switzerland overall, with an increasing trend since the end of the 1990s. Especially female and non-Swiss residents are satisfied with police work, while males and Swiss citizens are more critical. Trust is also higher in the German-speaking part than in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. On the other hand, trust is lower in the Southern Part.

Results confirm that non-voluntary police stops have a strong influence on trust in the police. Positive experiences in particular lead to higher trust. However, their influence becomes smaller when considering other institutional and attitudinal items. An overall trust in the police is closely linked to opinions of their work and their procedural fairness. Particularly, opinions of how well the police are doing their job are strong indicators of an overall trust in them. Moreover, trust in the police relates to trust in other institutional items, especially to trust in the legal system.

Besides involuntary contact, victims of crime show less favorable attitudes towards the police. This is reflected firstly in dissatisfaction with the treatment received, and secondly in the information policy. It is important to note here that negative experiences with the police of victims whose possessions were stolen lead to a reduction in their trust, while the police, on the other hand, can gain trustworthiness when treating victims of robberies and assaults correctly.

Finally, results for Switzerland highlight the importance of social trust found at the European level. Optimistic people have a clearly better opinion of the police than pessimistic people. It could be shown that general trust in fellow men, in their fairness and helpfulness, does not only lead to a better opinion of the institution “police”, but also leads to better evaluations of police’s procedural fairness and their work.

SUMMARY

People generally trust the police, especially in Western Europe, while trust rates are lower in Eastern Europe. The highest trust levels, with more than 70% of the population trusting in their police, can be reported for the four Scandinavian countries of Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, together with Switzerland. In Eastern Europe, less than half trust the police.

Procedural justice theories highlight the importance of adequate behavior in citizen-police encounters. Disrespectful and unfair treatment and decisions correlate strongly to a negative opinion of the police and the courts. Results also confirm a cross-country correlation between global trust in the police and general opinions of their procedural fairness. Studies based on procedural justice approaches relativize the importance of instrumental concerns, such as fighting crime effectively. While such convictions hold for a long time, it is undisputed that the behavior of the police is more important than said instrumental concerns. Contrary to these rather popular beliefs, results show here that confidence in police work is equally important to people's overall trust in them, if not more so. Moreover, such an opinion of how well the police are doing their job explains a large portion of people's satisfaction with the treatment received in a concrete encounter. Hence, the first assumption has been confirmed. Analyses at the macro level have shown that there is a linear relationship across countries between confidence in the work of the police, trust in their procedural fairness, and global trust in the police. The higher the trust in police's procedural fairness and the higher the confidence in the work of the police the higher a country's global trust in their police force. When comparing countries, no clear pattern was found for Mediterranean countries. Furthermore, more variance was found amongst non-Western European countries. While Western European countries are marked by high levels of trust and confidence in the police, Eastern European countries are situated at the lower end of the scale overall. Based on these results, two clusters of Western and Eastern European countries were built, excluding Mediterranean countries. Furthermore, in order to prevent biases, countries situated at the extremes were excluded, i.e. Ukraine and Russia. Finally, Estonia and France cluster differently than the other countries. While Estonia is situated within Western European countries, France's low level of trust in the police clusters it within Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, France was counted to the West and Estonia to the East. The final Western European cluster consisted of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. The Eastern European cluster consisted of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Lithuania. These two clusters formed the basis for further analyses. Results confirmed the overall correlation between trust in the police, trust in their procedural fairness, and confidence in their work.

Analyses for Switzerland allowed for testing of the correlation between attitudes about local police work and overall trust in the police. Results show that ratings of police work in the area indeed clearly affect overall trust in the police.

Hypothesis 1.1: The better the rating of local police work in Switzerland, the higher the people's overall trust and confidence in them.

In a subsequent step, the impact of social trust was analyzed. It was argued that social trust has a positive impact on people's trust in the police and on attitudes towards them. The following hypotheses were derived:

Hypothesis 2.1: Social trust is higher in Western democratic countries than in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Hypothesis 2.2: The higher a society's social trust, the higher its trust in the police.

Hypothesis 2.3: The higher a society's social trust, the higher its confidence in the work of the police.

Hypothesis 2.4: The higher a society's social trust, the better its evaluation of police's procedural fairness.

Social trust is indeed higher in the West than in the East. Moreover, there is a linear relationship across all countries with trust in the police. Furthermore, a linear relationship was found between social trust and procedural fairness, while the correlation was weaker between social trust and confidence in the overall work of the police. Here, the variance was broader, especially within Eastern European countries, with the Netherlands as an outlier within Western Europe. All hypotheses could be confirmed.

Before addressing social trust as an explanatory force in encounters between the police and citizens, the influence of overall trust in governmental institutions was analyzed. Trust in the police is closely linked to trust in legal institutions, while perceptions of political systems are different. This result is reflected in the fact that the police are rated far better than political institutions, at least in Switzerland, where only about every third person trusts the parliament and less than 40% trust the government. Results of principal component analyses show that trust in political institutions can be separated from trust in legal institutions (the courts and the police). Contrary to expectations, this is true for both clusters, the West and the East. Nevertheless, the Eigenvalue of the additional factor is stronger for the West than the East, pointing to a lower distinction between institutions in the East. One reason for these rather similar results is the clustering. In the Eastern European cluster, I have mainly included the transformation countries of Central Europe, while the two extreme cases, Russia and the Ukraine, were omitted. Analyses based on the full Eastern European cluster show stronger discrepancies between the East and the West.

I assumed that the police are perceived differently than political institutions in Western European countries and perceived as similar in Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, an influence on trust in the police was expected:

Hypothesis 3.1 The higher the trust in political and legal institutions, the higher the trust in the police.

Results show that in both the West and the East trust in institutions issuing order—the legal system and the police—can be separated from trust in political institutions. People seem to differentiate between these institutions, even though the differences were only marginal. Despite the expectation, this is also true for the East. Results, with the inclusion of Russia and the Ukraine, show a far more similar perception of government institutions. This shows that the included transformation countries are on their way to connecting with the West, at least with regard to people's understanding of government institutions. Furthermore, hypothesis 3.1 was confirmed. Particularly, trust in the legal system contributes largely to trust in the police. Besides, trust in politics also has a positive impact, which is slightly stronger in Eastern Europe than in the West.

After these initial analyses of explanatory items, the focus was on the interaction between the police, the public, and victims of crimes. It was assumed that an experience with the police would have an influence on trust in and attitudes towards them.

Hypothesis 4.1: The impact of unfavorable ratings on trust is stronger than the impact of favorable ones (asymmetry hypothesis).

Hypothesis 4.2: The more favorably an encounter with the police is rated, the better the confidence in their work.

Hypothesis 4.3: The more favorably an encounter with the police is rated, the better the perception of police's general fairness.

Hypothesis 4.4: Victims of crimes against the person have lower trust in the police compared to victims of crimes against property.

Hypothesis 4.5: Reporting to the police does not correlate with trust in the police.

Hypothesis 4.6: Victims satisfied with how the police treated their case evaluate them better than those who were dissatisfied.

So far, with regard to the relationship between trust in and attitudes towards the police, primary analyses showed no large differences between the West and the East. However, clear differences were found when testing whether the impact of unfavorable ratings on trust is stronger than the impact of favorable ones (asymmetry hypothesis). In the Eastern European cluster, the negative impact of very dissatisfied people on trust in the police was slightly stronger than the positive one of satisfied people. Contrary to this, in the West, the positive impact of satisfied people was obvious. Therefore, hypothesis 4.1 was only partly confirmed. Considering the impact of the encounter on attitudes towards the police, it was shown that there is a clear correlation between the level of satisfaction with the encounter and attitudes towards the police. Those with favorable ratings of a police encounter evaluated the overall work of the police far better. Moreover, in cases in which they were satisfied, people attributed procedural fairness to the police far more. The contrary was true for people

feeling dissatisfied with the police. While such correlations were found for both Western and Eastern Europe, the discrepancies are strikingly larger in the Eastern European cluster. Results clearly confirm hypotheses 4.2 and 4.3. Hypotheses 4.4 to 4.6 relate to Switzerland only, for which additional analyses about victim-initiated police contact were performed. All could be proven. It was additionally tested whether the police stop certain people more frequently than others. Results show that the Swiss police stop young males in particular, while females and elderly people were contacted less often. Moreover, correlations are found for education and household income. Better-educated and wealthy people are more frequently involved in police encounters, probably because they go out more often and therefore have a higher possibility of being stopped. While no statistically significant correlations arose for the variable of ethnic minority, non-Swiss citizens are more frequently stopped than Swiss.

Analyses of victims who contacted the police show that criminal victimization reduces overall trust in the police independently of the type of the offence. Especially low rates of trust in the police can be reported for victims of thefts and burglaries. Dissatisfaction with how the police have treated a case clearly affects how they are viewed, leading to much lower trust in them. Furthermore, the information policy was found to have an influence as well. Particularly, victims whose need for further information was not met trust the police less. Interesting to note is the outstanding trust level of victims of offences against the person who were satisfied with the treatment they received.

Finally, social trust was used as an explanatory force in interactions with the police. It was expected that social trust would have a positive impact on trust in and attitudes towards the police.

Hypothesis 5.1: People's trust in the police after being stopped by them is better the higher their social trust is.

Hypothesis 5.2: People's confidence in the work of the police after being stopped by them is better the higher their social trust is.

Hypothesis 5.3: People's evaluation of police's procedural fairness after being stopped by them is better the higher their social trust is.

The outstanding positive role of social trust in police encounters is unquestionable. People with higher social trust have higher trust in the police, whether they were stopped by them or not, whether they live in the East or in the West. Nevertheless, results differ between Eastern and Western Europe when considering the two attitudinal items of procedural fairness and confidence in police work. In Western Europe, in cases of police encounters, people marked by low levels of social trust have an especially low trust in the police. In Eastern Europe, it is the other way round. Suspicious people have a lower trust in the police in the non-contact sample. Overall, hypotheses 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 are confirmed.

PART V – DISCUSSION

17 Links between Specific Attitudes and Overall Trust in the Police

Studies evaluating whether global opinions of the police are rooted in concrete beliefs regarding their work are sparse. The results found here support those that argue that global confidence in policing is rooted in specific assessments (Reisig & Chandek, 2001; Jackson & Bradford, 2010). The level of satisfaction with the treatment received in a police-initiated encounter affects the global trust in the police, trust in their overall procedural fairness, and confidence in their effectiveness. Dissatisfied people clearly rate the police as being fair and respectful less often, as well as that they do a good job overall. While such a pattern is found for Western and Eastern Europe, the differences were much stronger within the Eastern European cluster. This may be based on different forms of encounters or more severe negative treatments in Eastern Europe.

People seem not to differentiate between the behavior of single officers and the police organization as a whole. Since no further details are available about the type of contact, the results must be seen as giving only a first hint towards the relationship of concrete experiences and overall trust and confidence in the police across Europe. Besides this limitation, confidence in police's effectiveness was elaborated on according to a general question about how well the police are doing their job, rather than using concrete questions about their technical competences, as used in the study of Jackson & Bradford (2010), for example. Nevertheless, the separation of trust in police's effectiveness from trust in their procedural fairness is more important than the measurement of effectiveness.

A clearer picture can be drawn with regard to the analyses of Switzerland. Specific views about the quality of police work, their presence in the public—whether or not it is sufficient—opinions of their help and assistance in the community, as well as response time to a crime correlate strongly with a more general, overall level of trust in the police. Moreover, results again confirm that opinions of police's effectiveness also count. People who see a strong decrease in the quality of police work, as well as those reporting that the police are not there at all for the people in order to assist and to help them, particularly do not trust in the police. The discrepancy is enormous: While more than two-thirds of these people do not trust in police, the level of trust reaches nearly ninety percent amongst those giving the most positive ratings concerning changes in police work and their help and assistance. Unfortunately, no analyses were possible elaborating on the impact of such concrete assessments on global views of police's fairness and effectiveness, because such questions were not part of the Swiss Crime Survey but only of the European Social Survey.

Additionally, opinions of police work in the neighborhood correlate with global trust in the police. People with high confidence in police work in the neighborhood

clearly report higher overall trust in the police. Conversely, dissatisfied people rate the work of the police in the neighborhood as unfavorable and trust the police less. In addition to the question about confidence in local police, a similar question about how people perceive the work of the police in the country allowed for a comparison of the two frequencies. Results show that, in Switzerland, local police work is evaluated more critically, while confidence in police's effectiveness at the country level is slightly greater.

Nothing can be said about the robustness of such trust and attitudinal values. Misbehavior within the police organization might lead to a decline in people's trust. In Switzerland, the police were accused of several failures during the last year. The police commander of Lucerne was blamed for promoting an officer accused of domestic violence. In the end, he had to resign (Amrein, 2013). Furthermore, several officers of the Zurich city police were arrested due to illegal credit card deals in the red-light milieu, and accused of abuse of authority (Gyr & Schmid, 2013). The media is an important player not only in the distribution of such information, but also in keeping the scandals alive. At the time when news coverage of the red-light case in Zurich was heavy, the free daily newspaper *20 Minuten* launched an online survey about people's trust in the police. They concluded that Swiss people's trust in the police is destroyed (Bernet, 2013). However, such results are biased. Due to the selectiveness of respondents, they lack validity and representativeness[43]. Even if such negative events surrounding the police may affect certain people's feelings about the police, it is of limited duration. Moreover, people already distrusting the police feel validated. On the contrary, the overall trust in the institution "police" is not largely affected, as results of the steady increase in trust in the police in Switzerland over the years demonstrates.

[43] On the website where results are displayed, no further information is given about the composition of respondents, such as the distribution amongst males and females or amongst age groups, respectively.

18 Building and Destroying Trustworthiness

18.1 Officers as Institutional Representatives

Several theoretical approaches, from either institutional research or the policing field, point to the important role of representatives. People expect a certain demeanor from police officers. Not only should they successfully fight crime, hunt burglars, and other offenders. They are expected to behave adequately and treat people friendly and fairly. With regard to the police and politicians, attitudes about the best approach to fight crime and to ensure security started to change in the 1980s: from social control perspectives towards approaches emphasizing to the importance of procedural fairness. Furthermore, institutional approaches have shown that representatives are the link between citizens and the system. As police officers are perceived as experts, a specific knowledge is ascribed to them. Hence, when people experience an encounter with a police officer, their picture about the whole police institution is affected, either positively or negatively. Results of both analytical parts of the thesis confirm that such encounters not only affect opinions of police's procedural fairness and confidence in their work, but also people's overall trust in the institution. The interesting point to discuss here is the difference in the impact between Western and Eastern Europe. The asymmetry hypothesis could only be partly confirmed. In Eastern Europe, dissatisfaction with the police clearly leads to lower levels of trust in them. The more negative the interaction with the police is evaluated by people, the lower their level of trust. On the other hand, in Western Europe, no negative impact was found. What's more, the more satisfied people are, the higher their trust in the police. Swiss people reporting very high level of satisfaction with the police have a more than 20% higher mean trust in the police. Final analyses reveal that a large part of this high impact is explained by a general trust in the work of the police and trust in their procedural fairness, as well as trust in the legal system and the politics. This leads to the conclusion that, even though encounters have an impact on people's perception of the police, this influence is limited. Strong positive attitudes about how well the police are doing their job in the country, about how respectfully they treat people, and how fair their decisions are, are robust parameters of people's trust in the police. Unfortunately, data does not allow for analysis of the contact itself, whether police officers indeed treated people correctly and fairly, or—in the eyes of the affected people—whether they were rude and impolite, making incorrect decisions. Still, the strong mediating role of trust in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness holds true in both countries. Based on this fact, it can be concluded that encounters, either positive or negative, either in Western democratic countries or in post-Soviet countries in Eastern Europe, only limitedly influence abstract trust in the police.

Nevertheless, when analyzing interactions between citizens and the police, it was shown that satisfaction with the treatment received does shape attitudes towards them. This becomes even clearer in cases where vulnerable or uncertain people ask the police for help. Crime victims contacting the police in order to get help are vulnerable, especially those having experienced violence or sexual assaults, but also victims of burglary who have lost their feeling of security within their home. On the other hand, crime victims are aware of their needs and have a clear picture of what the police should do. In cases of thefts of personal belongings, a bicycle or a car, they hope to get their valuables back. In cases of violent crime, the hope of finding and punishing the offender is added. Due to high expectations towards the police, the disappointment on the side of the victim can be huge. One may think of failure to return stolen possessions of high value to the victim. In cases of physical injury, the police might be seen as not doing enough to find the offender or not taking the case serious enough (Kilpatrick, Saunders, Veronen, Best, & Von, 1987). Present outcomes for Switzerland confirm such results, showing that dissatisfaction with treatment of a case is linked to lower levels of trust in the police, independent of the type of offence, for both victims of crimes against property and crimes against the person. Furthermore, results clearly highlight the importance of information policy. Hence, certain sensitivity on the side of the police officer dealing with a case is essential, while a disinterest or maltreatment might destroy victims' trust in the police for years. Moreover, information policy is also important in contact initiated by the police. Every fourth person stopped by the police in Switzerland reports that the police do not explain their decisions.

18.2 A High Reputation Contrasts Increasing Attacks towards the Police

For several years, the primary task of the police was fighting crime effectively. In a culture where social control approaches dominate, in order to enforce law, their power was broad. As a governmental authority they had to be respected, criticism by the public was rare. The image of such an authoritarian ruler was damaged in Western Europe in the 1980s, with a growing dissatisfaction with the politics of government and local authorities. Political unrests and protests affected countries in Western Europe. The picture of the police changed, particularly amongst the younger generation. As the longer arm of the government, and due to their actions against protesters, they were made a bogeyman, fighting at the side of a conservative society suppressing individual freedoms. In the meantime, in democratic countries of the West, roles changed in several ways. Some years ago, the police were a strong authority with the power to make decisions that were not open to discussion. Nowadays, as cultures become much more egalitarian, people have somehow lost respect in institutional representatives. The work not only of police officers but also of emergency services is getting more difficult, as they are hindered and attacked by people they want to control or to help, and also by bystanders. While there is no countrywide survey about attacks on the

police in Switzerland, several analyses of local context indicate large increases. A higher sensitivity towards the topic on behalf of police officers might have led to higher reporting rates, as claimed by the author of a study from 2010 (Kühnis, 2010). Criticism of the human rights organization *augenauf* goes in a similar direction. They argue that attacks did not increase but only the rate of reporting (augenauf). Such an influence is indeed possible, as the Association of Swiss Police Officers (VSPB) launched an awareness campaign in 2009 (Verband Schweizerischer Polizeibeamter VSPB, 2011).

Arguments of dramatic increases are often based on national numbers of the offence of "violence and threat against public authorities and officials" (art. 285 of the Swiss Criminal Code) included in the criminal statistic. Since police officers are only one type of public official, statements should be taken with care. Nevertheless, an important hint towards the problem is given by a further look at the data. The age distribution of such offenders registered by the police show that about every third case falls in the age group of 18 to 25-year-olds. Moreover, the age span of 18 to 34 years covers more than 63% of the cases[44]. Hence, young people in particular commit attacks, probably rooted in disrespect. Nevertheless, results show that, overall, Swiss people trust the police and have positive attitudes towards them.

Can this overall high trust and confidence in the police be interpreted as the public viewing the Swiss police as legitimate? Since the core element of this thesis was trust, and as legitimacy was not included in analyses, no firm statements can be made here. Nevertheless, a look at the results from Hough, Jackson, & Bradford (2013) gives interesting information about possible correlations between trust in procedural fairness and legitimacy—understood as people's moral alignment and felt obligation to obey—in Switzerland. Moral alignment was measured according to the question whether the police generally have the same sense of right and wrong as the public. The feeling of obligation to obey, on the other hand, was based on the question to what extent it is people's duty to do what the police tell them, even if they do not understand or agree with the reasons. As numbers for both are high, it can be concluded that also the overall legitimacy of the police is high in Switzerland, analogous to trust in them. Moreover, moral alignment is significantly related to procedural fairness. The correlation for Switzerland reaches the third highest value of all included European countries. This means that people trust in police's procedural fairness if they perceive them as sharing the same culture or moral values. Conversely, the effect of procedural fairness and obligation to obey was rather small: Switzerland takes the lowest rank across Europe (Hough et al., 2013, p. 21–22). This suggests that the impact of procedural fairness on perceived legitimacy is limited in Switzerland. The police are not respected as a higher authority one has to obey, even if they are seen as treating people respectfully and fairly. Such a tendency was already shown by the question of whether people ask the police to explain their decisions. Only 1.1% of the

[44] Results are based on own analyses of data from the Federal Office of Statistics (BFS).

Swiss respondents reported that no one ever asks the police, meaning that it is normal to ask the police why and how they have come to their decision (see Figure 20 chapter 10.4.1: Satisfaction with Treatment Received). Reasons for a possible increase in attacks towards police officers may be found in their behavior itself. Heavy workloads due to additional services lead to disappointment and dissatisfaction (Mohler, 2013) and to inappropriate behavior in interactions with citizens (Manzoni, 2003). Moreover, studies reveal a large discrepancy between the high amount of public trust in the police and police's self-evaluation. Kääriäinen & Sirén (2012) show that generalized trust in France, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom is significantly lower amongst police officers than amongst the rest of the population. Officers in Switzerland seem to be suspicious, not trusting in people they do not know. While it can be seen as part of their job not to trust anyone, negative experiences might also affect police officers' general trust in others.

With the development of modern democracies and societies, people's expectations towards governmental institutions rose, while their respect declined. Alongside, a multiplication of tasks, a blurring of responsibilities replaced their core function of social control. The function and roles of the police became wide, multiple players, such as railway police and many other private forces, have evolved[45]. Additionally, broad media coverage and the spread of new media and smartphones allowing recording of interactions (Meyer, 2010) lead to permanent surveillance and guaranteed reporting of misbehavior, not tolerated at all by the public. In this sense, the media is an important controlling body.

[45] Reiner (2010, p. 19-20) criticizes the often formulated assumption that policing changed from a rather narrow function of social control towards a plurality of tasks. According to him, policing has always covered a variety of tasks. The primary change happened from a sole responsibility for crime, order, and security towards a "pluralized marketplace", as well as a shift in styles, program, and practices.

19 Cultural Aspects

Beyond the aspect of ethnic minorities, cultural factors only play a marginal role within studies of attitudes towards the police. Since the key area is on the side of the police, their behavior, and its influence on people's assessment, social realities surrounding encounters are often left aside. What was elaborated on is the concept of social identities, seen as crucial for compliance with the police (Bradford, 2012). A feeling of belonging to the same group as the officers, as either the same nation or community, enables establishment of social bonds. The establishment of such social bonds between officers and the public enables the building of a moral connection as the basis for trust in the police (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). Such identities are constructs more or less easily to define and attachable to individuals involved in encounters. Other soft variables are more blurred. Social trust is more difficult to define, which is why its use is more disputed (see chapter 5.3.3.2: Social Trust). Moreover, it has only started to find its way into broader research about trust in justice. In existing studies, social trust is primarily treated as part of social capital when elaborating on trust in governments. Several studies have proven that social trust and trust in governmental institutions go hand in hand (Kaase, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Grönlund and Setälä 2012). Western democracies are marked by good evaluations of government and high social trust, while transition countries' trust is lower for political institution as well as towards unknown others. In most of the studies, the police are treated as one institution in a wider set. Often a combined variable is built out of several institutions. No wonder that no study analyses the police on its own.

The highlighted assumption of the analyses around social trust was its distinction from particularized trust. Based on Hardin's (2002) concept of encapsulated interest, I argue that encounters between a police officer and a citizen or a crime victim are interactions between two people, based on concrete expectations. Social trust, on the other hand, understood here as the combination of trust in unknown others, in their helpfulness, and fairness, is not bound to expectations. Due to its moral form, it is a dictate to treat others well. Learned early in life and based on optimism, it is a rather stable concept, largely resistant to the difficulties of daily life (Uslaner, 2002). Optimistic people are expected to transfer their positive view towards others onto institutional representatives. Police officers are therefore generally approached as positive and trustworthy, in the way other people are. This is especially true for modern societies, marked by high complexity, where trust has become a necessary strategy for dealing with other people and institutions, often inaccessible to ordinary people (Sztompka, 1999). Therefore, social trust is expected to be a moderator in citizen-police interactions in the West. Results confirm this approach by showing that clear differences exist between Western and Eastern Europe. In the West, the

discrepancy between people with low or high trust was stronger amongst the sample of people stopped by the police. Suspicious people gave much less positive ratings to the police in cases in which they experienced an encounter with them. This suggests that they transfer their negative views and mistrust towards others onto police officers. In the East, evaluations of people with low trust were more negative amongst those not stopped by the police. In transformation countries, where institutions are not met with high trust as in the West, expectations towards the police might be generally lower. Hence, social trust does not act as such a strong mediator. It might also be possible that the chance of being stopped by the police is smaller for such people, based on a different behavior, such as not going out often. Further studies and analyses are needed in order to shed light on such speculations. Another open point is the link of social trust to social groups and identities. Linking the two approaches of morally founded (Uslaner, 2002) and motive-based trust (Tyler & Huo, 2002), it can be argued that people with high social trust towards others are more willing to see positive motives in the police and therefore can more easily establish a moral connection with them. However, this might only be true for people with a weak social identity, not defining themselves as belonging to one specific group. On the other hand, people with low social trust might have higher particularized trust with members who share the same group identity, as high trust in the in-group coincides with low trust in the out-group (Delhey et al., 2011).

Overall, social trust is a strong explanatory force for trust in and attitudes towards the police not only in Western Europe but also in the East. Social trust and trust in the police correlate positively across all European countries. Furthermore, trustful people show higher confidence in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness. Results for Switzerland follow those of Western Europe. The lowest levels of trust in the police, only 60%, are found for suspicious people with low general trust in the helpfulness of their fellow men and who experienced a police encounter. However, more research is needed in order to shed light about these correlations, especially with regard to what shapes social trust. For example, suspicious people might stem from certain social groups marked by strong social identities. However, a study by Freitag (2003) shows that, in Switzerland, social trust relates to individual attributes rather than to group attachment, such as active membership in associations, as often claimed. It correlates with personal resources, general attitudes, psychological determinants, and social background.

20 Limitations

In this study, several important results were found. Yet, interpretations are subject to several limitations. Firstly, several difficulties arise in cross-national research. One often-formulated problem is linked to data collection. Only process standardization can guarantee that data are comparable across countries. The European Social Survey uses a centralized structure resulting in a strong standardization in the fieldwork or sampling methods (European Social Survey ESS, 2010c). Therefore, data sets are expected to be equivalent in each of the participating countries, or at least to display very low discrepancies. However, even when data is collected identically, questions might be understood differently across countries. I previously dealt with this problem when discussing the use of the social trust items (see chapter 5.3.3.2: Social Trust). Even though some studies have shown that the difference in the understanding of these items is tolerable, some variation is expected not only between but also within countries, as no homogeneity exists within national boundaries either. This leads to another important point that needs to be considered when interpreting results: National boundaries are not identical to cultural boundaries (de Vaus, 2008). The differences found between Eastern and the Western European clusters must therefore be seen as national rather than based on cultural parameters.

Coming back to the different understandings of variables between and within countries, variations are not only being expected for the explanatory variable of social trust, but also for the dependent variables of trust in the police, in their procedural fairness, and in their effectiveness. Questions measuring procedural fairness ask for *respectful treatment* and *fair decision*. However, no further specification about the meaning is given in the questionnaire. Respectful treatment was linked to *what you have heard or based on your own experience…*, which opens up a rather broad fundus of connotations. For the concept of police's effectiveness, I used the variable asking for how well the police are doing their job. This question is linked to expectations (*Taking into account all the things the police are expected to do…*[46]). Again, this is a fairly general formulation. No solution can be given for this problem as of yet, as the theoretical base, as well as many studies dealing with the concept of procedural fairness, stem from the U.S. and Great Britain. It would be important to test the understanding of procedural fairness in different countries, not only of the West but also in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries included in round five of the European Social Survey.

The European Social Survey offers a variety of variables and includes several countries all over Europe. Data are aimed at national analyses. Hence, the responsible

[46] For full wording of the questions, see chapter 5.3.1: Dependent Variables: Trust in and Attitudes towards the Police on page 55.

body of the European Social Survey warns against combining countries in clusters (European Social Survey ESS, 2014, p. 3). Nevertheless, in order to get an overview of the situation in Europe and in order to test theoretical approaches, in a first step, I used two clusters of Western and Eastern European countries. Of course, a lot of information gets lost when doing analyses at such an abstract level. These kinds of analyses do not allow consideration for country-related specifications, such as organizational approaches within the police. Moreover, the style of the government as well as a bad economic situation in the country might lead to dissatisfaction with the government as a whole, proved by results showing that views about the government are linked to trust in the police. One case study of Switzerland allowed results found in the Western European cluster to be proven. The aforementioned weakness of the cluster approach could therefore at least be partially mitigated. However, I did no in-depth country analyses in order to prove results for Eastern Europe, as of yet marked by low levels of trust in the police. Hence, more country studies are needed in order to elaborate on the situation in further countries in either Western or Eastern Europe.

Another point to discuss is the inclusion of France. It is the Western European country with the lowest trust and attitudes values towards the police, scattering within the Eastern European cluster. Why do French people trust their police so little? Ethnical discrimination by the police is an ongoing problem (Body-Gendrot, 2010). As primarily immigrants are affected, especially those living in the *banlieues*, bad police practices alone cannot explain the overall low trust amongst the French public. In the light of a continuous shift to the right, as elections in 2014 have shown, the source might instead lie in an uncertainty and fear of crime in general. Dissatisfaction with the government as a whole might be transferred to the police. Results further support the cultural argument by showing that French people not only have low trust in their police but also a very low level of social trust. While other people's fairness is not evaluated that badly, general trust in unknown fellow men is particularly low. Fukuyama (1995) already declared France as *low-trust society*; a country with a weak civil society coupled with a history of distrust in the state. While family ties are strong, it lacks intermediate groups between the family and the state. At the end of the discourse in chapter 13, he admits that over the last decades a process of cultural homogenization took place coupled with a change in a traditional weakness of associations. Even though social capital and thereby particularized trust might have become stronger in the meantime, results show that generalized trust is still low.

As already partly mentioned and discussed above, a second point of limitation is that results are always only as good as the data used to obtain them and they largely depend on applied methodologies. At the center of the analyses was the overall trust in the police, together with trust in their procedural fairness and effectiveness. For analyses, standard survey questions such as "Overall, how much do you trust in the police?" were used. However, the use of such items would never cover the full range of trust in the police. Combined indexes considering a variety of items might lead to

results that are more refined. Jackson et al. (2012, chapter 5), for example, demonstrate a close relationship between several items measuring trust in shared interests (motive-based trust), procedural fairness, and effectiveness. On-hand results might have become more diverse if I would have analyzed the variables of overall trust in the police, in their procedural fairness and effectiveness more carefully in the beginning according to further items included in the data set. Additionally, in the analyses, I did not consider items of motive-based trust. A feeling of "*we and they [the police] are 'on the same side'*" (Jackson et al., 2012, p. 67) might largely shape levels of satisfaction with encounters, and possibly relate to social trust.

Another area where information is lacking is the circumstances of encounters between the public and the police. The question in the European Social Survey generally asks whether people have been approached, stopped, or contacted by the police within the last two years preceding the survey. No information is given about the reasons for police contact, whether a person was verified by the police or whether an unlawful behavior, such as exceeding the speed limit, lead to a complaint. Receiving a fine, for example, will lead to further contact with the police and the justice system in the month following the encounter. Moreover, critical events, such as riots, for example in Sweden in 2008 (BBC, 2008) or in London in 2011, might lead to more problematic encounters between citizens and the police[47]. Such experiences are expected to shape attitudes towards the police, in either a positive or a negative way. However, positive attitudes towards the police might already be limited prior to (problematic) police contact. This is supported by results showing that, in Western Europe, people with low social trust in particular rate police encounters negatively. Nevertheless, it might well be possible that such people with low trust but also people with an overall negative attitude towards life as a whole enter unfavorably into encounters with the police, behaving aggressively, for example, which might have an influence on the interaction as a whole, leading to dissatisfaction with the way the police have treated them[48]. Further in-depth analyses should especially consider the circumstances of encounters, such as the place, the persons involved, and the behavior of the involved police officers, but also of the citizens. Besides, multi-level analyses would allow testing for effects at the neighborhood and country level.

Finally, results showed a close connection between overall trust in the police and trust in their procedural fairness, on the one hand, as well as with confidence in their work, on the other. However, implicit in the ratings of the police work and their

[47] The riots in Sweden fall in the period of 2008 until 2010 for which police encounter questions were asked. At least this is not the case for the London riots, which only happened during August 2011. That such riots will not only lead to a higher chance of critical interactions with the police but also affect public opinion of the police in general can be seen in the study by Hohl, Stanko, & Newburn (2011). They analyzed the effects of the London disorder on the public opinion of the police.

[48] This might again especially be the case in demonstrations or riots, either as an outcome of demonstrations or triggered by another event. However, despite former negative attitudes towards the police, problematic policing itself can contribute to the uprising of riots (Klein, 2012).

procedural fairness is an image of the police based not only on experiences, but also influenced by media coverage or stories told by friends and families. Such reflections might especially have an impact on people's evaluation of police's procedural fairness—whether they treat people correctly, make fair decisions, and explain their decisions—in cases where people were not yet in contact with the police.

21 Conclusion and Outlook

This thesis is about the perception of the police by the public, by people who have experienced a police stop, and by victims of a crime who reported it to the police. A lot of research has been done within this field of trust and attitudinal studies. However, the majority of these studies stem from Anglo-Saxon countries. In addition, cross-country research is limited. My aim was therefore threefold. Firstly, I wanted to test whether certain institutional and attitudinal approaches can be seen as universal, applicable across different countries. This was confirmed by showing a linear relationship between trust in the police and the perception of their procedural fairness and their work across all included European countries. Secondly, another open point was the relationship between global trust in the police and concrete views about the organization. Results show that an evaluation of police work clearly relates to an overall trust in the police. However, more research is needed, as the question could only be answered within a limited scope. In order to analyze such a relationship carefully, additional questions clearly differentiating between the local and the national police would be needed. Unfortunately, this was not the case for the data at hand. However, it was demonstrated that attitudes about local police work, as well as the level of satisfaction with officers in an encounter, relate to overall trust. Finally, I wanted to elaborate on the role of social trust. Treated as part of social capital, its relation to trust in government is widely confirmed. However, its role in trust in the police has been considered only marginally so far. Results of this thesis show that social trust plays a crucial role not only in trust in the police, but also in the evaluation of police encounters. Clear differences between Western and Eastern European countries demonstrate its importance. However, many open questions remain, as analyses were only possible at an abstract level. In further police research, surveys should combine specific questions about police encounters and about social trust. Furthermore, other soft variables, such as value dimensions (Schwartz, 1994), and other cultural factors should be considered, shedding more light on how people's perception of the police is molded.

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- Conference Assistant: 7th International Security Forum ISF, Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich (05–12/2006)
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